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WASHINGTON, AUGUST 19, 1850. For the National Era.

SKETCHES OF OUR VILLAGE. No. 4. THE MILLER,—CHAPTER IV,

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

"Let it be so. The barbarous Scythian, Or he that makes his generation meeses To gorge his appetite, shall to my becom Be as well neighbor'd, pitied, and relieved, Six years passed, eager, anxious, bustling years,

with Miller Jed, during which he had, spiderlike, put forth many a cunningly-laid thread around the feet of needy debtors, which would eventually draw them within his clutches; then, the simpletons, if they made any outcry, Isaac would be ready to deal with them. In company with such thoughts as these, the old miser's heart seemed growing hard as his nether millstone. With the family at the Hollow, these years had gone by "as still as stars." The tall figure of the old soldier was still unbent, though he leaned oftener than of yore on his silver-headed cane, the gift of a brother officer, as he passed along on his way to meeting on a sunny Sabbath. A few white hairs gleamed upon the widow's temples, while Mercy had shot up, tall and graceful as a

They had counted time only by Isaac's vacations; for then the Hollow regained the old gold-en glow of sunshine, some of which, it seemed, he took with him at his departure. His vacations were mostly spent there, for his own home seemed cheerless and uncomfortable. Even Widow Barker's kind, old, wrinkled face failed to meet him at last, for her increasing infirmities had compelled her to give up her trust, and her place was occupied by a stranger. Though his father felt a kind of pride in him, and did not fail to manifest toward him that kind of respect which ignorance not unfrequently pays to talent, especially talent which can command money, not a single day passed in which the son did not feel, with a bitterness which made him sick at heart, the meanness and selfishness of his father's character. Every visit home deepened this feeling, and served to convince him that he never could consent to become the mean, pettifogging character for which his father designed him. Even the profession itself began to grow repulsive to him; and restless, dissatisfied, and unhappy, he entered upon the last half year of his term.

About this time commenced that seemingly new religion." The movement soon reached Land Isaac and his fellow-students were numbered

Then, how different seemed life, with all its aims and end, stretching into eternity! If his father's life and opinions looked poor and contemptible to him before, what were they now, in the light of his newly awakened feelings? How willingly would he have laid down his life to have made his father conscious of its wickedness. He felt that he must see it; he could not fail to do so, God's law was so plain. He would strive with him as never yet child strove with a father, and then, casting aside all worldly ambition, joyfully go forth as a missionary, to speak the words of life unto the suffering millions of earth.

Thus, in words steeped in the glowing enthusigam of his own heart he wrote to his father and the family at the Hollow; for though the close of his term was near at hand, his ardor could brook no delay.

much better adapted to the pulpit than the bar, much better adapted to the pulpit than the bar, shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole and they rejoiced in the consciousness that their world, and lose his own soul?" teachings and influence had not been in vain. It was not so with Miller Jed. Not until he had read the letter over three times, and carefully ex-

on a poor canting priest? Aye, I see it all now, he continued, suddenly turning pale with rage he continued, suddenly turning pale with rage;
"this is old Ward's scheming. He thinks to
marry his grandchild to this whining fool, and
so regain his estate. I'll see the devil have them

ed, and until his dusty figure was quite hidden behind the hills, not a word was spoken by the inmates of the old farm-house. Then the old man

"My children, Isaac Sewall must come here no more. I said no good would come of it, at first, and it seems I was right. Pardon me, Jane," he continued; "I am over hasty. Good has come of it. Isaac will be a better, wiser, truer man, for the teachings he has received from you, and God be praised that it is so; still, we must make up our in the teachings he has received from your and God be praised."

Who ne'er said, 'God be praised."

One, two, three, four, five, six weeks—they occupy but a little space on our paper, yet they crawled over the Hollow like so many weary years. They brought sorrow and grief to the simple, affectionate hearts there, and, were we writing a mere love story, we might tell how the heart of Meroy sank beneath the first taste of life's bitter challos.

Scatter the despair—Give Peace unto repentance,
And Merey unto prayer.

F. W. T.

Some queer chap says that grain is treated like infants — when the head becomes heavy, it is cradled; and generally it is well threshed to make it fit for use.

minds to see him no more. It will be a sad trial

minds to see him no more. It will be a sad trial to him and to us, for somehow the boy has become very near to me; but better bear this, than the slightest suspicion of scheming for the end of which that old man spoke.

As usual, they questioned not his wisdom; nevertheless, the heart of Jane Ward yearned after the child of her adoption, and Mercy sorrowed bitterly but silently, at the thought of meeting him no more. About a week after his father's visit to the Hollow, Isaac, with a heart teeming with hope and faith, came up the feen lane, paused a few moments on the flat stone by the bars, where he had first met with Mercy, then passed on to his father's house. Miller Jed, save when under the influence of some ungovernable burst of anger, was a man of few words. He had decided to waste no breath upon his son's whims, for he had one argument, of the potency of which he had not the slightest doubt. Therefore, he greeted him in his usual brief way, and listened in dogged silence while Isaac spoke humbly, but eloquently, of the change in his views, and his hopes and wishes of the future, and, at his usual early hour, retired to his bed without a word of comment. The young man found hope in his silence, and fervently thanked God for disposing his father's heart to listen favorably to his request. The next morning, instead of going to the mill as usual, the eld man was busy for some time in his own room. Presently he called for Isaac to join him, and laying before him upon the table a great, black leathern pocket-book, stuffed to bursting with papers of all hues, bade him see whether his "school lazini" could tell how much those papers were worth. The spider-like old Miller seated himself at one end of the table, and kept his glittering eyes steadily on his prey, while Isaac, pencil in hand, examined the different notes and mortgages, and made an estimate of their amount.

ortgages, and made an estimate of their

"Four thousand seven hundred and sixty dollars," he said at length, running his pencil again up the column of figures, to see that they were

correct,
"Right, four thousand seven hundred and sixty dollars," repeated the old spider, "and this year's interest will make it a trifle over five thousand. A pretty nest-egg that, Isaac; wonder if any minister can show as good a one," he added, with a wily glance at his son, as with his crooked fingers he tenderly replaced the papers in the queer, old receptacle.

"Perhaps not," was the reply; "they are men who live with his hear in the near the real.

who live with a higher aim than to lay up treasure on earth. Theirs is, I trust, in Heaven."

up to Monroe's Notch, it is mine; secured by good warrantee deeds upon record. Aye, you may well stare," he continued, seeing Isaac's vacant look; "it's not many men that can show a farm like that, worth good five thousand dollars to-day, to say nothing of the mill, which brings in, on an average, two hundred a year more. It took along head to get all this property, isaac; it will take quite as long an one to keep it. I have spent e'en-a-most a thousand dollars—e'en-a-most a thousand, to teach you how to keep it, and to add now and then a penny to it; for who knows how much more I might not have got, if I had only known enough about the points of the law. You do know enough, and it shall all be yours, only, mark me, boy, I must have no more nonsense about priests; you must be a lawyer—a rioh lawyer, Isaac, and nothing else."

"I know how much you have done for me,

a lawyer—a rich lawyer, Isaac, and nothing else."

"I know how much you have done for me, father. Believe me, I am not ungrateful, but do not drive me into a profession in which I know I shall never succeed. I don't care for money, only let me follow the way which my concience and"—

"Don't care for money!" screamed the old Miller, aghast. "Are you mad, or a fool, or both? How often have I told you that a man could succeed in anything, if he only had money enough?

"Father! father!" exclaimed the young man, much agitated, "would that I could persuade you that there is something better, higher, worthier

The Wards received the tidings with unfeigned pleasure. They felt that his talents were much better adapted to the pulpit than the bar

"Don't talk to me about souls," angrily ex-claimed the father. "These, I see and know," he continued, pointing over the rich fields he called his own, "and these," he added, striking his hand he was not the object of some hoax. That Isaac should really think of opposing his will, he could not comprehend.

"Fool!" he muttered, contemptuously, "does he think I am going to throw away so much more.

rianguage in the state. I'll see the devil have them so regain his state. I'll see the devil have them so interest of heavy in the state of law. Not that it is not honorable and all first, the poerty-striction of areas. He called me chast once; we'll see who will cheet or be cheated, now. I'll fit smatter for them? and shatting the water-gate with a violence that brought the great wheel to a uniden stand, and threw the glittering water in ministers exceeder from every block riv of its skeleton frame, he settled his white hat more firmly on his powdered, he shadowy forest, toward Ward's Ifoliov. Had they prime of darkness himself suddenly appeared on the threshold of thatold farm-house, his appearance would hardly have been greeted with more surprise. The old soldier arose, as dial shouth embedred and supplete, and dood element from astonishment. But they did not wait long, for the did Miller, without waiting for eremony, he and to pour forth such a torrent of sarcostic involved and the state of the supplete of the state of the supplete of

"By wayside graves are raised; By wayside graves are raised; And lips say, "God be pitiful," Who ne'er said, "God be praised."

Six weeks! and how passed they at the mill? We only know that the great mill wheel dashed round and round as of yore, the waters mouned and sobbed, while Miller Jed continued to scrape up the soft meal with his bent fingers, as he occasionally said to himself, "An obstinate dog; but he'll come round yet. Poverty is a rare tamer."

Then, a man on horseback paused in the whitened atmosphere at the mill door, and delivered him a letter.

"I was going on to M——, and promised our Minister that I would come this way and deliver that letter," he said. "It's sorry news, I reckon, an you be his father;" and with a whistle to his horse, he cantered across the bridge and up the

Miller Jed started at his words, and stood for some time turning the letter over and over, as if he already apprehended its contents. Then sud-denly breaking the seal, he took them in at a

glance.
"Fever—come to him—die—death," he murmured, as the paper shook in his trembling hands "He shall not die!" he exclaimed vehemently.

mured, as the paper shook in his trembling hands.

"He shall not die!" he exclaimed vehemently, as he hurriedly stopped the wheel. "He cannot—so young, and"—he started and looked over his shoulder in fear. A few drops of water had fallen on his hand, and he thought of the cold damp forehead of his dead wife, and that old terror seized him.

He hurried to his horse, and with the meal still powdering his gray locks, like the ashes of repentance, mounted his sleek mare, and took the road towards L.—.

Weary, faint, and almost despairing, Isaac Sewall had reached L.—, he hardly knew how, and presenting himself before Judge G.—— and the old Minister, stated all his troubles, and besought their advice. "I am homeless—an outcast; but I had rather die, than become the mean, pettifogging character for which my father designs me," he said, sadly.

The old men were much impressed by his earnestness, and through their influence he was soon engaged as assistant in a large school in that vicinity, but he had hardly entered upon his new duties before he was seized with a raging fever.

When Miller Jed reached L.——, the disease was near its crisis. All that night the miserable old man sat crouched in a dark corner of the room, scarcely daring to look upon the face of his child, listening to his ravings and low moans, with feelings too fearful for us to describe. Sometimes he was with his fellow students, but oftener at the Hollow with Mercy, and, as if a gleam of the truth still reached his troubled brain, he would moan piteously: "Oh, take me home! Let me see her once more!"

It was never of his own home, but of the Hollow, that he spoke, and only once his fevered lips murmured the word, "Father." The very tone

who live with a higher aim than to lay up treasure or earth. Theirs is, I trust, in Heaven."
"Aye, I, for one, am pretty sure it aint here," chuckled the old man; "but, come, boy, I want you to go up the hill with me."
Carefully placing the old pocket-book in the breast pocket of his coat, he led the way through the dewy fields in silence. When they reached the highest point of the ridge that overlooked Ward's Hollow, for the first time the old man paused. It was a beautiful scene that lay before them. On the east, stretched out the deep, green woods, along the farther edge of which crept the winding mill stream, until, meeting the resistance of the heavy sapead out in motionless silence, like a young heart when it first finds its love and trust dishonored. On the west, lay the green Hollow, over whose rich mid-summer beauty streamed those pensive gleams of golden light, the first faint full heart. Like that heart, nad he lessed God for life—aye, even for breath. He thought of Mercy, of his silent but ever-deepening love for merch of the time when he might fold her to his heart as the crown of all blessings; then a rude hand was laid upon his ears.

"It is a goodly bit, boy. From the Red hills, woll have a said upon his sense."

"It is a goodly bit, boy. From the Red hills, woll have a said upon his ears.

"It is a goodly bit, boy. From the Red hills, woll have a said upon his ears.

"It is a goodly bit, boy. From the Red hills, woll stare," he continued, seeing Issaec's vacant look; "it's not many men that can show a farm look; "it's not many men that can show a farm look; "it's not many men that can show a farm look; "it's not many men that can show a farm look; "it's not many men that can show a farm look; "it's not many men that can show a farm look; "it's not many men that can show a farm look; "it's not many men that can show a farm look; "it's not many men that can show a farm look; "it's not many men that can show a farm look; "it's not many men that can show a farm look; "it's not many men that can sho

the worst." Then seeing the minister's inquiring look, he added, pointing to a golden leaf that floated slowly toward the ground, "our young friend's fate is like that. No earthly skill can change it."

When the carriage reached the point where the green lane turned off to the Hollow, Isaac raised his eyes imploringly to his father's face, and made a faint gesture, as if he would go that way. Implicitly the old man obeyed, and at a slow funereal pace they drove on to the old farmhouse. The sight of the carriage brought the whole household to the door.

house. The sight of the carriage brought the whole household to the door.

"He would come," said the old miller, as if in apology, as they gathered round the carriage.

"Yes, grandfather, mother, Mercy," said Isaac, faintly, as he stretched out towards them his thin hands, "I would come. You first taught me how to live—you must now teach me how to die. Forgive me, father," he added, laying his hand in the old miller's. "they can care for me better here the old miller's, "they can care for me better here than at home, and you will come to see me daily." The old miller looked anxiously toward Adam

Ward. "If," he murmured, hesitatingly, "money can repay you, take all I have, only let him stay—only save him."

"Gladly will we take him for his own sake," replied old Adam Ward, as he raised the poor invalid in his arms, and, assisted by Jane, bore him into the house.

Those pensive, golden gleams, the prophecy of autumn, that slept upon the hills the last time that Isaac Sewall's feet had trodden them, had deepened into reality, and slowly, as the leaves changed from green to crimson, and impelled by their own weight, floated toward earth, so waned the life of young Isaac Sewall toward the grave. Loving hands tended him, and loving hearts lavished their wealth of tenderness upon him, and he was savere and harmy. He has a ished their wealth of tenderness upon him, and he was serene and happy. He knew it was much better to die thus than to go through life cold, selfish, and unloving. And he was happy in another thought; for all those sunny, autumn days his old father sat by his side, sometimes sobbing like a very child, as he spake of death and heaven, listening hample, and carnestly to the second listening humbly and earnestly to the sacred Word, as it fell from the lips of Mercy—words which he had heard a thousand times, but never felt before, and, joining with unfeigned humility in the petitions which Adam Ward raised daily

Prophet, Priest, and King— And his atoning Glory, And his offering, Annul the awful sentence,

Scatter the despair— Give Peace unto repent

Written for the National Era. REDWOOD, THE REGULATOR.

BY C. H. WILEY, ESQ, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

centiousness of the people, and justified them in their riots and defiance of authority. What is, therefore, called the Revolution, be

gan in North Carolina at least a half a century before the year 1776; and to those familiar with the early history of this region, the celebrated Mecklenberg Manifesto seems remarkable only from the fact that it is the act of only one county. Riotous meetings and public declarations of de fiance of the laws were common from the earliest times; and when the Great Troubles with England began, there must have been many such neetings as that of Mecklenberg held in the wild woods, and never recorded in any of the newspapers of the times.

CHAPTER II.

Just one hundred years before the Declaration f American Independence, the inhabitants of Albemarle in North Carolina rose, as Bancroft says, "against the pretensions of the proprietaries and the laws of navigation;" and, continues the historian alluded to, "the uneducated population of that day formed conclusions as just as those which, a century later, pervaded the coun-

the hands of New England traders, who bought the produce of the farmers, and brought to their doors such articles as they wished to purchase in return; in other words, the Yankee pedlar was then, as now, an important character, and familiar to all the inhabitants of Carolina. One object of the laws alluded to by Bancroft was to divert the trade of the country into different channels and this attempted restraint upon the free course of commerce was resisted by the people. The resistance amounted to a revolution; a Governor was deposed, laws abrogated, and new rulers appointed and new regulations formed for the pubic welfare. In the course of time, however, the republicans were subdued; still disaffection continued for many years, and the effects of the Rebellion" were never entirely obliterated. Feuds and animosities prevailed for half a century, and in the mean time many of the leaders of the Opposition becoming compromised by their liberal doctrines, or disgusted with the course of things, plunged into the interminable woods to the westward, and in the solitude of those vast forests sought freedom and safety. Some of them settled within the nominal bounds of the county of Orange, which was then as large as the State of Maryland; but as they were scattered sparsely through the woods, they were hardly recognised as citizens by the public authorities, and were, in almost all things, "a law unto themselves." Their children grew up independent in every respect, and from their infancy imbibed the most bitter prejudices against officials of every grade. Offices and tyranny were with them synonymous terms; and such conclusions, in the then misgoverned state of things, were not extravagant or absurd-Many of these people were persons of property and education; and, simple in their habits, stern in their principles, and devotional in their feelings, they formed a population as different from all classes of civilized men in this age as it is

CHAPTER III.

med, the strange divine not even having a queue then the universal badge of dignity. There was that, however, in his air and carriage, that, to the rudest observer, marked him as one of the princes of the earth; and in his face beamed a majesty

BY C. H. WILEY, ESQ, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

AUTHOR OF "ALAMANCE."

CHAPTER 1.

North Carolina was not at first a Royal Province, nor was the State colonized or settled by those to whom was granted the proprietorship.
Accident, chance, circumstances, peopled this region; and as the original settlers were led, or attracted, by different interests and motives, the manners and characters of the new people were much diversified.

A colony of English was planted in the north-easiern part of the State; and to these, accessions were made by emigrants from New England and Virginia. Sir John Yeamans led a body of adventurers from Barbadoes to the meath of the Cape Fear; and this became the nucleus of planters and cavaliers of wealth and distinction.

From these eastern ecttlements, hunters, fugitives from justice, hardy adventurers, sad sasfeer religionists, would straggle off in the boundless woods to the west; and thus there were scattered ever these upper regions occasional huts peopled by tenants of widely different manners and morals.

In after times, a company of Moravians bought a large tract of land, in what is now the county of Forsythe; and their flourishing little towns of Bethany, Salem, &c., became the centre of civilization and trade.

As might be supposed, the people of North Carolina grew up in ignorance of the Mother Country, of her laws and institutions; and their own governors and rulers, chosen by distant curviers, who knew little of their wants and interests, were generally weak, corrupt, and despised. These petity tyrants, too, were often in league with the pirates and buccanneers that swarmed on the coast of the Carolinas for many years; and while a knowledge of this shameful fact added to the unpopularity of the Government, it enhanced the incentiousness of the people, and justified them in their riots and defiance of authority.

"Do you know that vain man?" said he to an elderly gentleman at his side, without seeming to pay the slightest regard to the preacher's question. His friend was ignorant of the stranger's name; and the question, "Who is he?" began to be buzzed through the congregation, when the speaker regumed:

speaker resumed:
"Colonel Fanning." said he, "you will not, "Colonel Fanning." said he, "you will not, you cannot, you dare not, meet me on the field of free discussion; but willingly, aye, most anxiously, do you desire to confront me in a corrupt court, before an unprincipled judge. I know you well; I understand you, sir. You seem now, all indifference and contempt; and yet, at this very moment, you are endeavoring to find out my name, that you may pursue me with the vengeance of the law. I am responsible, sir, for what I say; I have no aliases, and my name is Council Redwood."

The whole assemblage, electrified by this an-nouncement, rose to their feet; and one young man, in the midst of the general excitement, rushed upon the stand and grasped the speaker's

"Your father and I were intimate, Carey," re-plied Redwood, to a remark of his new acquaint-ance; "or, rather, I should say, he was a father to me. My father and he had stood together in difficulties on Albermarle, many years ago; they fied together, and, though they settled many miles apart, used regularly to see each other twice a year. My father died when I was young, often saw your father, you being generally off at school. I never saw you but once, and then you were a boy about ten; I believe they called you Ambrose, after your father."

Ambrose, after your father."

"That is my name," answered the young man;
"and now that I have finished my education, I
would be glad to see you at my father's old place.
All are dead but myself; but you will find my bachelor entertainment not altogether rude. Come you must go with me immediately; it will be dan

gerous to stay here."

"Why dangerous, young man?" asked Redwod; "are the people here not my friends? are they not the friends of Liberty?"

"A majority of them may be, but Colonel Fanning is here, and he has tools and friends."
"And what brought that man here? How could he have known of my coming?"
"He did not come to hear you," said Carey;
"the scoundrel has fixed his eyes on a beautiful lady of this neighborhood," he continued, in a whisper, "and she and her guardian are both in-fatuated by him."

tuated by him."
While this conversation was going on, the crowd were gathering together in knots, some talking violently, some dispersing, and others ea-gerly crowding round the pulpit. To a great number of these latter, Redwood was introduced, and to them he formally and publicly announced his determination to speak there again on the following Saturday.

A heavy two-horse coach, considered, in that day, a very splendid one, divided with Council Redwood the attention of the people at Haw

Fields Church.

The latter, and the owner of the former, were The latter, and the owner of the former, were equally notorious; the one as a great leader of opposition to the Government, the other as a corrupt and haughty officer; and now that both were present, the public curiosity was unbounded.

The clerk of Orange was unusually polite and affable, bowing kindly to all who passed him; but without appearing to be at all uneasy or intimidated, he soon left the ground, carrying with him in his carriage a plain old gentleman of the neighborhood, and his nicee and ward. Abraham White was one of the fathers of the settlement White was one of the fathers of the settlemen a respectable but poor planter; he was a timid old man, fond of show, and immensely tickled by the attentions of Fanning to himself and Miss Mary White, his niece.

This latter, just then budding into womanhood,

predictions of a modern divine, concerning the destruction of a portion of the world; predictions that were strongly urged in an eloquent pamphlet, which declared that on a certain day of the next year, one-third of the earth would be carried away by convulsions. It was not stated what part would be thus destroyed; but many believed, and the uncertainty as to the part to be whelmed in ruin added to the terrors of the people.

Of course, therefore, on the day appointed, an immense congregation assembled at the Haw Fields Church; and early in the day a trumpet announced to them the hour for worship. When the company had gathered about the stand, or pulpit, their curious eyes were directed to its conupant; and there was a general surprise at the appearance and dress of the minister.

His countenance had not the ghastly expression of those who are supposed to hold intercourse with spirits and phantoms of another world; nor did he wear the sad and uncouth raiment of a prophet. His powerful frame was clad in a decent suit of the most feshloughle and carried in the course of the evening, to obtain from him a full confession.

They had been children together; and from an early period the beauty and confiding simplicity of "the Lily of Haw Fields," had won the manly heart of Carey. He was much above her in rank and wealth; and at the time now alluded to was, in education; and every virtue; and no charms for him; and though educated abroad, Mary White was still the magnet of his soul. His generous imagnation had invested her with every grace and every virtue; and though he had unverse made any formal proposals, he had unverse made any formal proposal

CHAPTER V.

chapter v.

"I have news for you," said Redwood, on his return to Carey's, "important news, and I wish you to ponder well what I say."

"And I," replied Carey, "have important information for you; but do you speak first, for, as you know, lovers are impatient."

"Do you believe me to be your friend?" asked Redwood, seriously.

"Certainly I do."

"Do you believe that I am a man of honor and truth; that I would faithfully serve your father's son?"

"I sincerely believe it," said Carey—"but why are you so solemn?"

"Carey," said Redwood, "you have fallen down to worship an unworthy idol! Be still; a silly girl has enslaved a great and mighty soul! Be calm, young man! She is a shallow, giddy creature, with a heart that is tender and a mind that is pure, but utterly incapable of strong emotions. Your imagination has deceived you; the girl you love is altogether the creation of your own generous fancy. Ambrose, you are just at that age when imagination is strongest, and the heartfull of yearning; and objects on which the light of your imagination falls assume the color of your own soil. This color is het the gilding of your own soil. This color is het the gilding of your own soil. This color is het the gilding of your own and houghts; and it is melancholy to think it should be lent to such unworthy objects. Now, there is an object worehy of all your fondest affections—an object whose beauties the poet cannot embedded to understand that his master was in danger. "Sheriff of Orange?" said Redwood, and all that have post on horse whose when imagination is strongest, and the heartfull of yearning; and objects on which the light of your own as an object whose beauties the poet cannot embedded to understand that his master was in danger. "Sheriff of Orange?" said Redwood, "tell Col. The hardy two weeks. Farewell, Mr. Carey; good morning, gentlemen officers!"

The Sheriff of Orange? said Redwood, "tell Col. The Hardy Holds and the decoved accoutrements of no high the been, he would have been interrupted by a loud, stern voi

lish or increase, and whose grandeur excels the most wonderful creations of fancy."

"You have put a nightmare on my heart," said Carey, "and perhaps now you wish to lift it off. Alas! if Mary White is what you represent her, then is all beauty but a phantom, all virtue loathsome vice, all the seeming fair things of earth but hollow mockeries! Have the gods thus sported with us? Are all the high hopes of the soul but a sickly dream? If so, then let me die at once." "My friend," answered Redwood, "when a generous man is deceived in one object of his regard, he doubts everything; and it pains me to witness this first fearful struggle in your heart. You speak of the gods; there are no gods but One, and whenever you lose the anchorage of faith in Him, you will be lost indeed!

"Look out on the heavens, which are now so beautiful! Did you see that shooting meteor? But a minute ago it was, to all appearance, a star, looking as fair and brilliant as the others; and yet it was but an exhalation. And think you, because many of those bright orbs above us are but burning gas, or noxious vapors, that there are no stars? But time flies, and I must finish my news. On next Saturday, Mary White is to go to Hillsborough, to spend several weeks at Fanning's."

"Then she is lost!" cried Carey, rising in great agitation. "She is lost, and I am forever undone! It must not, it cannot, it shall not be! Oh! that it was morning!"

"I agree with you," interrupted Redwood,

ondone! It must not, it cannot, it shall not be!
Oh! that it was morning!
"I agree with you," interrupted Redwood,
"that she must be stopped, if possible. Although
not worthy of your adoration, she is worthy of
being saved from ruin; and, young man, she is
nearer to me than you think. That girl is the
first consin of my noor wife, who is group to a first cousin of my poor wife, who is gone to a better world; and she must be saved! But tell

me, what have you heard?"
"The sheriff was here to-day; he incidentally mentioned your name; and I have no doubt in the world but he has a process against you."

"I suspected as much," said Redwood; "but he must not find me, for I have now much great work or bond."

on hand."

Early next day, Ambrose Carey rode over to White's, and came home, leaving Mary in a pet; she even went so far as to call him a bear. The she even went so far as to call him a bear. The crisis, however, was too important to permit him to take serious offence at her whims; and so he sat down and wrote her a very long letter, declaring himself no longer a suitor, but a friend; and in the most delicate manner hinting at her position, and the reports then in circulation. He declared his belief in her perfect innocence; but reminded her of the necessity, in females, of the remainded to the unconditional admission of California, made upon them by the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. McClernand.] He had himself heard of the existence of a party or faction in that keeping down the slightest suspicions, and warning her of the blasting effect to the reputation of others, of an intimacy with Fanning. In conclusion, he promised, if she would but forbear her visit to Hillsborough, never again to annoy her or visit her, and to serve her in any other way she might desire.

she might desire. The messenger brought back a note from Mary, thanking Mr. Carey for his magnanimity and generosity, and expressing regret at his resolution not to see her again. She, however, declared that she might be able to survive his determination not to address here and variety and statement. tion not to address her; and concluded with a gentle admonition to Mr. Carey to take care of his own reputation, while traitors were his guests. The very next day, Fanning's carriage carried Mary White to Hillsborough; and it was at once concluded by Redwood and Carey, that spies had

CHAPTER VI.

At this time the whole country was in a fer-At this time the whole country was in a ferment. Opposition to the Government had assumed an organized form; and the multiplied memorials of the people concerning the extortions of officers having been treated with neglect by Governor Lyon, bold leaders began openly to preach rebellion. Among the most noted of these were Herman Husband, formerly of Pennsylvania, Rednap Howel, William and James Hunter, and Thomas Parson: less known to subsequent his. s Person; less known to subsequent his-

tory, but perhaps more efficient than any in his day, was Council Redwood.

Husband and Howel aspired to the honors of authorship—the former in prose, the latter in poetry; and others following their example, the poetry; and others following their example, the country was flooded with songs, lampoons, and inflammatory pamphlets. This new branch of "the Sons of Liberty" styled themselves "Regulators;" and their influence and organization reached almost every part of the State. Many of the leaders, however, lacked discretion; and to the great mortification of wiser men, matters were hurrying to a premature crisis. The collection of taxes was sometimes resisted; sheriffs and con-stables were beaten, and riots were daily occur-

stables were beaten, and riots were daily occurring in nearly all the counties.

The Government, feeble and remote, was utterly ignorant of the dangers impending, and to the very last entertained erroneous notions concerning the numbers and determination of the Regulators.

Such was the state of things at the time Countil Redward was the guest of Ambrose Carey;

revealed piles of old books and papers, and a

off, and, for fear of accidents, put his horse to his speed and was quickly out of sight. One of the deputies, however, was bellowing behind, crying, "Stop thief! Arrest the outlaw!" and uttering such other exclamations as were calculated to excite the suspicions of persons about the crossing of the stream before them. The bridge of the Alamance was a toll-bridge, and as the Wizard of the Pilot came galloping up, all covered with dust and soot, two men with guns stood up-

on the abutment.
"Dismount, or we'll fire," said one of them. Redwood dist Redwood dismounted, and leading up his horse, asked what was the toll.

asked what was the toil.

"Nothing, till you pass," they exclaimed, seizing him, and indulging in a quiet, sinister laugh; may-be the Sheriff will pay for you? The officers were then in view, shouting to the toll-keeper and his aid to hold their prisoner fast; but the bold Regulator kept his eyes on other objects.

"There, old Alamance, is my toil!" said he, as with a powerful shake of his right arm he shook one of his jailers into the turbid stream below, and then, taking the other in his arms, cried: "Your fare is paid, Mr. Sheriff," and flung his writhing victim over the other side of the bridge. In an instant he was on his horse, and rising in his stirrups and lifting his hat, thanked his pursuers for their company to the bridge, bade them good day, and dashed into the woods.

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

SPEECH OF HON. DAVID WILMOT,

OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, July 24, 1850.

The Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union having postponed the consideration of the California Message, and taken up the bill making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy—

Mr. WILMOT obtained the floor, and proceeded to say. That he should fail in his duty if he heard of the existence of a party or faction in that House, so hostile to California as an independent measure, as to threaten resistance by revolutionary means to paralyze the functions of Government, by a defeat of the ordinary and necessary appropriations. This faction he understood to be the allies and coadjutors of the gentleman from Illinois. He (Mr. W.) was not of them in spirit

Mr. WILLIAMS rose to a point of order. He submitted that it was not in order on this bill to discuss the question of the admission of Califor-

Mr. PRESTON KING said, that as the whole question of the freedom of debate came into con-troversy on this point of order, he should ask that it be reduced to writing.

Mr. WILLIAMS referred to the rule on which

ne based his point of order.

The point of order was then reduced to writing follows:
"I call the gentleman to order, under the 31st

rule of the House, which requires the speaker to confine himself to the question under debate, and it is not in order for the gentleman to discuss the merits of the California bill on the question now Mr. HILLIARD inquired whether the ques-

tion was debateable?

The CHAIRMAN said, the Chair had not yet The CHAIRMAN then said that, looking to the range of debate wich was allowed in Commit-tee of the Whole on the state of the Union, the Chair did not feel authorized to pronounce the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Wilmor] out of order. The Chair, therefore,

overuled the point of order.

Mr. WILLIAMS said, that he appealed from the decision of the Chair.

Mr. WILMOT desired to be informed by the Chair, whether, when the House was in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, the state of the Union generally, as well as the immediate bill which was pending, was not under con-

The CHAIRMAN assented, remarking that it was upon that ground that he had overruled the point of order.

The question was then taken, "Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Committee?" and decided in the affirmative, without a division.

So the decision of the Chair was affirmed by the

complete to consider.

CHAPTER III.

In a thick froze, to far from like viver, stand. The stand of the response to the form like viver, stand. The stand of the response to the form like viver, stand. The like froze to the control of the response to the control of the response to the re

[CONTINUED FROM FOURTH PAGE.] Senator from New Hampshire entertains and avows the opinions as he now expresses them, and as expressed by the Senator who sits behind him, [Mr. Seward,] then if I make a motion to expel the Senator from New York, I shall include him the Senator from New York, I shall include him in the motion, and move to expel him also, with the utmost pleasure in the world! [Laughter] Now, sir, are we here acting fairly together as equals? I look at the Constitution of the coun-

I see nothing in it violative of any law try. I see nothing in it violative of any law which I am pledged to obey in preference to it. Senators say that the portion of the Constitution of the United States which protects the master in the property of his slaves is violative of the and that the Supreme law, being higher than the Constitution, they are bound to obey it. Now, I say that the honorable Senato who entertains that opinion has not properly qualified himself to be a member of this body, and should not be permitted to remain here.

Mr. Hale. I ask the Senator from Maryland when he ever heard me say so?

Mr. PRATT. Say what? Mr. Hall. That I hold that part of the Constitution which recognises the holding of slaves as contrary to the Divine law, and did not feel

Mr. PRATT. I never heard the Senator from New Hampshire say so. But this brings me back to the remark with which I commenced—

back to the remark with which I commenced—
that the Senator argued that that was the higher
law of which he spoke. He argued against me,
and wanted to hold my course up to rebuke, because I stated an opinion which he denies, and
says he never entertained. I stated that he so
understood me, and he knew he so understood understood me, and he knew he so understood me; and yet he seemed desirous of making a remark by which it might go out to the world, and break the effect of the remarks I made, leaving the impression that I had a want of respect to the Supreme Being, as if I were some sacrilegious person who had no respect for that Supreme Being for whom he professes to entertain so profound a respect.

found a respect.

I will not detain the Senate longer upon this subject. I started with the proposition that there is contained in the speeches of the honorable Senator from New York, as he spoke—and I believe as they have been written out and since printed—this proposition: that there is a law higher than the Constitution of the United States; and although he has sworn to support that Constitution, yet that it violates this higher law, and he is not bound to stand by it at all. Now, the Senator from Connecticut, in his exposition of what the Sena-tor from New York meant, said that it was a tor from New York meant, said that it was a higher law in harmony with the Constitution. Why, we all believe in that law. We all believe—I do most sincerely and humbly—in the truth of that position, as promulgated upon earth from Heaven. Now, the Senator says that he understood the Senator from New York so to confine his remarks as to make that application of it to that higher law which is consistent with the Constitution. The Senator from New York never said that—never meant that. He said it overrode the Constitution, and he would stand by that in preference to it. We all acknowledge that law consistent with the Constitution, the Supreme law, the Supreme Being which is higher than the Constitution, and, being content with it, imposes an additional obligation support it. It is only, therefore, when the Supreme law is annulling the Constitution that the whole remark of the honorable Senator can have any sense in it.

Mr. Baldwin. Mr. President, I rise simply to put myself right in regard to the answer which I gave to the general inquiry of the Senator from Maryland, as to what the Senator from New York was understood to say, in regard to that higher law of which he spoke. I said, in reply to the inquiry of the Senator from Maryland that I understood the Senator from New York when he spoke of that higher law, to say that i was in harmony with the Constitution. I noticed a smile of incredulity upon the face of the Senator from Maryland when I made that reply, and I was desirous, therefore, of procuring the speech of the Senator from New York, in order speech of the Senator from New York, in order that I might refresh my own memory. I have in my hand, and will read from it. The Senator from New York says, in speaking of the public

arbitrary authority over anything, whether acquired fully or seized by usurpation. The Constitution reg our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domi our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain union, to justice, to defence, to welfare, and to liberty.

"But there is a higher law than the Constitution, whic regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it the same noble purposes. The territory is a part, no inconsiderable part, of the common heritige of mankind, b stowed upon them by the Creator of the Universe. We at His stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secur in the highest attainable degree, their happiness."

That is the part of the speech to which I re That is the part of the speech to which I referred, and which I believe, according to my general recollection of it, is published substantially if not literally, as it was spoken. But, sir, I rost not merely for the purpose of making this explanation, but to state on the amendment proposed by the Senator from New York, that I shall be blisted to record my vete acciset it. obliged to record my vote against it. And I wish to state to the Senate that I shall vote, not because under the circumstances in which Ne Mexico is now placed, I should vote against he demanding admission into the Union, in fulfil-ment of the stipulation of the treaty by which she was acquired; for in that case I should feel bound, under the circumstances now existing, record my vote in her favor. But for reason which have been stated by my friend from New Jersey and my friend from New Hampshire, feel myself constrained to vote against this amendment of the present amendment of the Senato

Mr. Chase. Before the question is taken this amendment of the Senator from New York I wish to say a word or two. The first is in re gard to the general appeal made by the Senator from Maryland. In reference to that I have to say that I never understood the honorable Senator from New York as stating the proposition attributed to him by the Senator from Maryland attributed to him by the Senator from Maryland. But I think that matter is sufficiently disposed of by the quotation from the speech given by the Senator from Connecticut. Of course I have no idea of concurring in the measure which the Senator from Maryland has intimated a purpose of bringing before the Senate. I would rather express a wish that instead of this general denun-ciation, and instead of an occasional threat of expelling some Senator, they would put that pur-pose in a definite form, and have the action of the Senate upon it. I have nothing further to say upon that point.

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Mr. FOOTE. Will the honorable Senator give way for a moment.

Mr. Chase. No, sir; I cannot.

Mr. Foote. I wished only to gratify your

wish.

Mr. Chase. I expressed no wish that the thing should be done. But I think it would be a great deal better, instead of announcing purposes, to do deeds. Now, in regard to the amendment proposed by the Senator from New York, all I have to say is, that when the Constitution of New Mexico is before this body, and the boundaries in the Constitution are found to be such as are proper and legitimate, I am ready to vote for the admission of New Mexico with these bounds ries. If the boundaries are not found to be such as she is legitimately entitled to, then I am ready to vote for her admission with a reduction of her to vote for her admission with a reduction of her boundaries. But, to explain my position upon that point, I ask leave to read to the Senate a resolution adopted by the Democracy of Ohio, assembled in Convention on the 4th of July last. I do not refer to that party known as the "Free Democracy," who hold opinions on the subject of slavery not altogether in accordance with those entertained by the old Democratic party. I refer to that holy of the Democracy that supported the entertained by the old Democratic party. I refer to that body of the Democracy that supported the honorable Senator from Michigan at the last Presidential election, and not to the portion that supported Mr. Van Buren. Well, sir, that Deracy held a Convention on the last 4th of y, and this was the resolution that was unanimously adopted. I quote the resolution as published in the Ohio Statesman, the organ of the

In accordance with the spirit of that resolution, which has the approbation of my judgment, I am prepared to act. But upon this present amendment I am not inclined to vote.

Mr. Foote. I simply rise to make an explanation. I have no unkind feelings with regard to the honorable Senator from Ohio, or anybody in this body. But I meant to be understood—and would have said so distinctly if the honorable Senator had given way—that if any member of this body will avow the edious, abhorent, and unprincipled sentiment which I am about to state, I will move his expulsion instantly. That sentiment is

no man can read it in the first speech without coming to the conclusion that he did use the pre-cise language that has been often denounced by the Senator from Kentucky and others, and which now I am glad to find the original author himself is very anxious to induce the world to believe he never intended to use it in the sense in which he has employed it. I ill conclude as I begun, that there is no Senator in this body—be he the oldest or the youngest, the most distinguished or the most obscure—that shall dare to utter a sentiment that has just now been state moving his expulsion instantly. I do not feel that I could trust the great interests of the country in the hands of one who held such sentiments.

THE PRESIDENT. The Chair will remark that when this discussion commenced respecting the opinions of individuals, he was not in the chair. The subject-matter in discussion is the amendment of the Senator from New York. The Chair will be under the necessity of enforcing the rule, and bringing gentlemen back to the consideration of the subject before them. He regrets that the

matter has progressed so far, and cannot permit it to proceed any further.

Mr. Seward. I throw myself upon the magna-nimity of the Senate, and ask its unanimous conent to make a single explanat

Mr. CLAY (in his seat) Hear him. Mr. Seward. The speech which has been re-ferred to was printed verbatim as it was delivered in the Senate; and that, I think, can be testified to by the reporters. No material alterations were nade in any part of it, and none at all in the parts

The question being then taken upon the adop-

The question being then taken upon the adoption of Mr. Seward's amendment, it was decided in the negative—yea 1, nays 42, as follows:

YEA—Mr. Seward—1.

NAYS—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Barnwell, Bell, Benton, Berrien, Bradbury, Bright, Butler, Cass, Clarke, Clay, Cooper, Davis of Miesissippi, Dawson, Dayton, Dickinson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Foote, Greene, Hunter, Jones, King, Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Shields, Smith, Sonlé, Spruance, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb, and Yulee—42. rulee-42.

So the amendment was rejected.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, AUGUST 22, 1850.

Will not some of our friends at different post offices, where several subscriptions to the Era are now running out, see to it that they are renewed in time? This kind of friendly attention is required to keep up the circulation of a paper conducted rigidly on the cash system, as the Era is.

CONGRESS OF TUESDAY.

The Senate was occupied on Tuesday, in the consideration of the Fugitive Slave bill. An amendment offered by Mr. Pratt, to compensate slaveholders for their runaway slaves, was the topic of discussion. It was opposed by Mr. Dayton and Mr. Butler, and supported by Mr. Badger and Mr. Underwood, and others. Mr. Butler entered into the opposition to the amendment with considerable warmth, alleging that it would operate as a sort of emancipation act; and would induce masters to connive at the escape of their

The House made some progress with the Civil and Diplomatic appropriation bill.

A LAW HIGHER THAN THE CONSTITUTION.

Certain Senators and Representatives in Congress from the slaveholding States have been much shocked and scandalized by the annunciation of a higher law than the Constitution. They unhesitatingly charge all who profess to believe in the existence of that higher law, with the de-"But there is yet another aspect in which this principle must be examined. It regards the domain only as a possession to be enjoyed either in common or by partition by the citis-ne of the old States. It is true, indeed, that the matter than the wealth of the whole nation. But we have seen nothing to warrant this grave charge; no Northern man in the public councils, hold nevertheless, no arbitrary power over it. We hold no to our knowledge, has declared, or left it to be inferred, that he would violate his official oath in obedience to any higher law. That the Senator from New York, who has incurred so much denunciation by his speech on the 11th of March, until we read or heard the strained construct placed upon his language by his enemies.

But there is a party or section of this country

which holds the Constitution and laws of the United States subordinate to a higher law. In South Carolina as well as in several other Southern States, one of the plainest and most important provisions of the Constitution has been nullified by legislative enactments, by men who have taken a solemn oath to support that instrument. We allude to the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, which declares that "the citizens of each State shall be of facts. entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." In direct violation of this express guaranty of the Constitution, the Legislatures of most of the slaveholding States ual slavery, or other severe penalties, the free borders! Here, then, are barbarism and recklessness of oaths combined, not to characterize the transaction in harsher terms. No man postend that South Carolina has any right to determine the question of citizenship for Massachusetts or New York. Those States, by their funcitizens; so does every free State, and most of the slave States. To prohibit these people, therefore, the enjoyment of any privilege in the several States, which the white citizens of those States exercise, is to commit a gross, palpable violation of the Constitution of the United States, and, in obedience to the higher law of what they call necessity, to disregard the oaths which they had taken to support the Constitution. The members of every State Legislature, it is to be borne in mind, no less than the members of Congress, take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. So, in like manner, do the udges of the State courts who enforce these iniquitous violations of the supreme law of the land Here, then, is a lesson of morality which the chivalry of the South has given to the puritanism of the North, which cannot fail to excite disgust and abhorrence in every honorable mind. We are not only willing, but anxious to believe, that the great majority of those who were the passive instruments of a few diabolical leaders in the enactment of these infamous nullities, did so under the influence of a blind prejudice and ignorance, which shielded them from a meditated violation of the Constitution. But that the more enlightened among them, the lawyers and politicians well read in the Constitution, can plead such an excuse, is incredible. An eminent jurist of South Carolina, the late Judge Johnson, declared that the State laws to which we have referred, prohibiting free colored persons from going at pleasure from State to State, were so palpably nconstitutional, that the question would not ad-

udement of every honest man. We have remarked, that the Constitutions of the free States invariably treat colored people as citizens. The denial of the right of suffrage to that class of persons, in some of those States, cannot be construed into a denial of citizenship, any more than a similar exclusion which extends to women and minors can be so interpreted. If a colored man is not a citizen because he cannot vote, neither is a woman. But the laws and Constitutions of all the States treat women as citizens, protect them in the enjoyment of their liberty and property, and extend to them every privilege and immunity of citizenship, except the right of suffrage and of holding office. Indeed, the very clauses of the Constitutions of the free States which exclude women, minors, and colored people, from the polls and from office, generally admit, by the clearest implication, their citizenship, because they usually run thus: "every white male citizen shall, &c.," from which it is evident that there are colored citizens, as well as female citizens.

mit of argument. Such must be the unhesitating

But, in regard to Massachusetts and some other free States, there is not a shadow of ground for denying citizenship to colored persons, because they enjoy all the rights and privileges of

cal authorities

We believe that the framers and supporters of hese laws rarely insist upon their constitutionality. They boldly and impudently base them on tyrant's plea of necessity, which is the higher law" to which they bow, and before whose altar they trample oaths and Constitutions under their feet.

For the National Era. TO A. K.,

ON RECEIVING A BASKET OF SEA MOSSES

Thanks for thy gift Born where the golden drift Of the slant sunshine falls Down the green, tremulous walls Of water, to the cool, still coral bower Where under rainbows of perpetual showers, God's gardens of the Deep His patient angels keep; Gladdening the dim, strange solitude

With fairest forms, and thus Forever teaching us
The lesson which the many-colored skies, The flowers and leaves, and painted butterflies, The deer's branch'd antlers the gay bird that fling The tropic sunshine from its golden wings. The brightness of the human countenar its play of smiles, the magic of a glance

Forevermore repeat, In varied tones and sweet. That Beauty, in and of itself, is good Oh, kind and generous friend, o'er whon The sunset hues of Time are cast, Painting, upon the overpast

And scattered clouds of noonday serrow, The promise of a fairer morrow, An earnest of the better life to come The binding of the spirit broken The warning to the erring spoken The comfort of the sad

The eye to see, the hand to cull rom common things the beautiful, The absent heart made glad By simple gift or graceful token All own one source, and all are good. Hence, tracking sunny cove and reach, Where spent waves glimmer up the beach And toss their gifts of weed and shell From foamy curve and combing swell, No unbefitting task was thine

To weave these flowers so soft and fair, in unison with His design Who loveth beauty everywhere, And makes in every zone and clime In ocean and in upper air,

For not alone in tones of awe and power

He speaks to man; The cloudy horror of the thunder-shower His rainbows span; And where the caravan Winds o'er the desert, leaving, as in air The crane flock leaves, no trace of passage there, He gives the weary eye
The palm-leaf shadow for the hot noon hours, And on its branches dry

Calls out the acacia's flowers; And where the dark shaft pierces down Beneath the mountain roots Seen by the miner's lamp alone, The star-like crystal shoots So, where the winds and waves below The coral-branched gardens grow, His climbing weeds and mosses show Like foliage on each stony bough, Of varied hues more strangely gay

Than forest leaves in autumn's day Thus evermore, On sky and wave and shore, An all-pervading beauty seems to say— God's Love and Power are one; and they Who like the thunder of a sultry day Smite to restore,

And they who like the gentle wind uplift The petals of the dew-wet flowers, and drift Their perfume on the air,
Alike may serve Him, each with their own gift,

J. G. W. FUGITIVE SLAVES - THEIR NUMBERS - RAN-DOLPH OF ROANOKE.

A writer styling himself " Randolph of Roan oke," has recently been engaged in conjuring up all sorts of "Hydras and Gorgons dire," for the amusement of the Southern people. Among the chimeras with which he has attempted to relieve the dreary monotony of the dog-days, is a very mposing calculation of the number and value of South to the free States. We have rarely met with an estimate of the kind heralded forth with greater pretensions to fairness and accuracy of statement and inference; and we have as seldon witnessed a more absurd or ridiculous perversion

In order to show that there must have been an immense stream of fugitives pouring into the free States for the last forty years, he sets out with a statement of the numbers of free colored persons have enacted laws prohibiting on pain of perpet- in the years 1810 and 1840, as shown by the census; and since the number at the latter period is colored people of other States coming into their far greater than the natural increase of that existing at the former, he assumes that the difference is to be accounted for by the fugitives from the South. The excess of free colored people is sessing a particle of truth or candor can pre- 1840 over the increase of those existing in 1810, and which the writer assumes to be fugitive slaves, is estimated to amount to 46,224; and by the year 1850 he supposes it to rise to 61,624 damental laws, treat colored men as freemen-as | This property, valued at \$27,730,800, Randolph regards as spoliations of the North upon the South, unjust and iniquitous, and warranting reprisals, or even war, if the South were to act in the mat ter upon the recognised principles of international law, which governs the intercourse of the na-

tions of the world. After wading through three or four columns statements and inferences, of moralizing and nathematizing upon the enormity of the wrongs which the South has suffered at the hands of the North, as shown by his unnerring calculations, the fact suddenly flashes upon the mind of the writer, that there were a few slaves emanci pated in the Northern States between the years 1810 and 1850, which circumstance, to unsophi ticated minds, might in some degree account for the great increase of the free .blacks. This thought could not have been indigenous in a mind having such a proclivity to error. It must have been suggested by some less demented friend at the writer's elbow. We are warranted in this suspicion by the manner in which the objection to his foregone conclusion is disposed of. He

I believe the data which have formed the ba f all my calculations and estimates, have been adderate to a fault. Just, I am sure they are and fairer they could not be. But it has just occurred to me that New York and New Jersey nanumitted a number of slaves in the course of the thirty years between 1810 and 1840, and Penn the thirty years between 1810 and 1840, and Pennsylvania some also. I have heard, indeed, that a large proportion of these were removed to the South before their terms of manumission took effect, and that their bondage, or at least their service, continuing there, their domicils in these States were lost. Be that as it may, I am not willing to leave these estimates to distrust; so, to guard all possible mistakes, I shall now strike one-fifth, or twenty per centum, from the estinates of both the aggregate and annual losses, educing the former to \$22,184,640, and the latreducing the former to \$22,134,040, and the fat-ter to \$553,400; and (for good measure) casting into the amount, New England's share of liability to the South during the same period, for the like aggressions, and not less than five hundred slaves, aggressions, and not less than he will assist annually to escape to Canada."

The above paragraph occurs near the midd the fourth column of the essay of Randolph, after the author has entirely disposed of the statistical question involved. We leave it to candid men to say how far we are warranted in hazarding the conjecture that some friend must have This organized society for running off every slave existing in the free States at the respective eras of the passage of emancipation acts, number of 151 fugitives, assisted by the Anti-were forthwith spirited off to the South? Why, Slavery Society, is regarded as a great schieve-

speech of the honorable Senator from New York, the white race. To imprison or otherwise molest a fter thus disposing of the four-fifths, should no man can read it in the first speech without a colored citizen of Massachusetts who chooses Randolph higgle about the remaining fifth? There to go to South Carolina, for no crime but that of is a proverb, which says that a man may as well color, is, therefore, treason against the Constitu- be hanged for an old sheep as a lamb;" and we tion of the United States, on the part of the lo- advise Randolph, that the next time, he should go the entire mutton for the sake of consistency The number of slaves liberated by New York, New Jersey, and other free States, between the years 1810 and 1840, was just 26,377; and allowing them to increase at a less rate than Randolph claims for the slaves of the South, they would amount to double that number at the latter period. In other words, the 26,377 negroes who were slaves in 1810, would, with their progeny, number not less than 52,754 in 1840. Randolph makes out only 46,224 for the excess above the natural increase of the free negroes-so that we have more than accounted for the excess, without allowing anything for the fugitive slaves; and, in fact, the actual state of the case precludes the supposition that any considerable number of the present colored population of the free States can be fugitives or their descendants.

The fugitives are nearly all males, and course there can be little or no natural increase from them. It is further to be considered that it is only within a few years, say ten or twelve, that they have received any systematic aid from abolitionists; prior to which time the number escaping was very small. This is demonstrable from the census tables. It is also equally clear, as we shall proceed to show, that the assertions of Randolph, that the slaves in New York and New Jersey were removed to the South, is utterly in onsistent with the state of facts. For it so happens that the free colored population of those States increased pari passu with the diminution of the slaves; in other words, the slaves becam freemen. Further, it also appears from the same tables, that the free negres of those States in creased more rapidly before the year 1830 than they have done since; notwithstanding that, prior to that period, there were no abolition societies and no agitation of the subject of slavery. The

following tables will exemplify these remarks: FREE COLORED. New York New Jersey - 12,609 18,303 SLAVES. New York - 10,088 New Jersey - 7,557 2,254 674 It is obvious from the above tables, that the in-

crease of the free colored persons in New York and New Jersey has been in exact proportion to the diminution of the slaves, and at the same periods. No candid mind can require a clearer refutation of the statements of "Randolph." But if a shadow of doubt remains on the mind

of a human being, it must vanish before the fact that in New York, there is an excess of females over the males of 2,409. Now the fact is well known, that five-sixths of the fugitive slaves are males; and if their number amounted to onetwentieth part of the estimates of "Randolph." their relative proportions to the females would be the reverse of what the census shows it to be. The reason of the excess of the females over the males in New York is doubtless attributable to the emigration of the males to the West, and perhaps some of them to the more southern States.

The census tables show that the colored population is rapidly deserting the more Northern free States, and this fact fully accounts for their increase in the Northwestern States. Imitating their white neighbors, they emigrate to the West The following table shows that the free colored

population increased more rapidly from 1920 to 1840, it the Northwestern States, than it has

Ohio 4,862 9.568 17,342 3.629 7 165 506 Illinois 1,637 3,598

It is apparent from the above, that the abo litionists have had next to nothing to do with the peopling the Northwest with the colored race. since the process went on as rapidly before the agitation of the slavery question, as since. The colored people of that region have emigrated from New England, as every man of common candor must admit, who looks at the facts stated above. As a further illustration of the absurdity of

the statements of Randolph, we subjoin the folhe slaves who escape from their masters in the lowing table, showing the rapid increase of the free colored population of Pennsylvania, from 1790 down to 1820. Since that time, the ratio of increase has much diminished, Randolph's stream of fugitives from slavery to the contrary not-

The high	ratio	in	the	earlier		years, is	ac-
1840	1	-	-		•	47,854	
1830	-				-	37,930	
1820					•	32,153	
1810		-		-		22 492	
1800	1	-	-	-		14,564	
1790	+	-	-		•	6,537	
rithstanding	:			-			

counted for by the act for the abolition of slavery in the State, which was adopted in 1780 By its provisions, all born after that period were o be free; and by the year 1820, the females born before the former period had ceased to have children. Pennsylvania also received, no doubt, a considerable accession of colored people from the colder New England States.

We have now shown from the census tables, that the calculations of Randolph are utterly fallacious; that his naked assumption that the slaves of the free States were removed, or sold at the South, cannot be true, as is shown by the existing state of facts. We will next demonstrate from the statute books of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, which States contained all the slaves north of Mason and Dixon's line, in 1810, that the slaves could not have been exported without incurring heavy fines and penalties.

NEW YORK. Slavery was abolished in the State of New York, in the year 1817. The act declares that all slaves born after the 4th of July, 1799, shall be free at the age of 28 years; and that their masters are required to teach them to read. They are not to be carried beyond the limits of the State under any pretext, on pain of forfeiture of the slave, and incurring the penalties of a misdemeanor. See laws of 1817-1818; and Revised Statues, vol. 1, page 826—Congress Library.

NEW JERSEY. The act of emancipation passed in 1820. Al slaves born after the year 1805, to be free at twenty-five years of age. A fine of one thousand dollars and imprisonment, for transporting slave beyond the limits of the State, except slaves of full age, who freely consent to go, before a judge of one of the Courts in private. See statutes of Pennsylvania-Congress Library.

PENNSYLVANIA. The abolition act passed in 1780; amended in 788—see statutes for the year. All are declared free at the age of twenty-eight, who have been born since 1780. Penalty seventy-five pounds for carrying a slave beyond the limits of the State. In conclusion we will remark, that although unable to estimate the number of fugitive slaves we think it evident from the above stated facts and considerations, that the calculations of Randelph are at least ten times too large. He quotes from a publication by the Anti-Slavery Society, showing that they have assisted 151 slaves in esoaping during the past year. It is understood that this society has an organization, extending along the whole frontier of slavery, as well as the ports and harbors of the slave States, on the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico-at least such is the allegation of the Southern presses and people. suggested the important drawback upon the sound- then, would be cognizant, we should imagine, of ness of his conclusion. He admits, evades, ex-tenuates, denies, and at last compromises with ments, would not fail to chronicle every such case the objection, by allowing one-fifth of the 61,624 It is therefore fair to presume, that the number colored people to have been manumitted by the | 151 is not far from the true number; at any rate Northern People! Now, we should like to know it is all for which the North can be held charge why the writer pounces thus suddenly upon the able, for if slaves escape without any assistant proportion of one-fifth? Where are his premifrom Northern men, the South cannot complainses? Why not go the whole hog, and insist that they must regard it as one of the inevitable im-

ment by those who participate in such transactions, and we presume that it exceeds the efforts of any former year; so that after all the grievance to the South, inflicted by abolitionists, very trifling, even now, when it is represented as so enormous. It can hardly justify a resort to disunion, even in the judgment of the most ultra oro-slavery man, if he will look at the facts as hey exist, and not as they have been represented by the excited fancy of Randolph.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the National Era:

PARIS, August 1, 1850.

of the Elysée. Verily, the friendship of these entlemen is dangerous. Their kisses seem to be the signals for leading the caressed object to exeoution. Or do they, like some birds of ill omen. hover around the dying only? Le Napoleon died ome two months since. Its numerous subscribers among the functionaries of every grade were informed, last week, that the balance of their subscriptions would be transfered to Le Pouvoir, which would be sent instead of Le Napoleon. Now that both are dead, their lists may be transfered to Le Moniteur du Soir, which is now the special epresentative of the ultra imperialists who govern at the Elysée, and which may be expected to die efore long of a surfeit of their favors. This last-named paper has entered with great

clat on its new functions of favorite. It brought s last week to the brink of a revolution. This is serious word, and not to be lightly pronounced But the truth is, that France was on the brink of he precipice for fifteen minutes, last Friday afteroon about four o'clock. The two great powers of the State, the Executive and the Legislative, vere for that length of time about to come to a violent collision. This grave situation was the result of the violent jealousy which has so long reigned between the President and the Assembly, nd which has been so ill-concealed during the war they have made in common on the rights of the nation. When the Assembly condemned Le Pouvoir to pay a fine of five thousand francs for attacking its prerogatives, the President was laced in a delicate position. Everybody knew that he was the one the Assembly intended to punish, and yet he could not acknowledge the blow. The article of Le Pouvoir was traced directly to its author, M. Romieu, the private secretary of the President, and was supposed by the public to have been written under his own inspiation. After the condemnation, the organs of the Elysée kept up a hot fire against the Assembly, which answered them by the election of a mmittee of vigilance for the period of adjournnent, composed of members hostile to the ambitious projects attributed to the President, and ome of them hostile to him personally. Thereapon, the Moniteur du Soir, in an article ascribed also to the pen of M. Romieu, opened a broadside on the Assembly. The article is too long to be good, but one or two passages will show sufficientv its tenor.

"The effect of that list [members of vigilance ommittee] has been that of the head of Medusa. n seeing figure on it names of such a notorious ostility to the President, that their choice should e considered as a challange thrown to him by the list of fusion, but one of provocation," * * * should place on the choice of General de Lamori-ciere the personal insulter of the President?" sure is restablished, though confessedly inade-quate to the end. The whole policy of the Asshould place on the choice of General de Lamori-

parte, the nephew of the Emperor, the choice of six million citizens, for feeling so keenly this insult as to rise in his force and in his popularity against the parliamentary parties who seem to amuse themselves by braving public opinion, and nsulting the one who is surrounded by the sympahies of the people?" * * "France waits for othing but a word from the President. Are you

ot afraid lest he may say it?" * * * "We to not at all fear that the Elysée will disavow This article, with another not less direct, was

lussac a member of the Left. Although the ar-

ticle had produced a great sensation, none of the nembers of the Right would take the initiative. fearing to get into a pass from which there would be no retreat and no alternative, except to precipitate a struggle between the Assembly and the President. The Left was also in a dilemma: it could not, consistently with its professions of deconsultation between the leaders, it was agreed that M. Dupont de Bussac should demand, not a rosecution of the publisher, but an inquiry into the source whence this and similar articles emanated. When the orator descended from the tribune, there was a general cry for a Minister to disown the article, but not one of them moved from his seat. The excitement was on the increase, for the silence of the Ministry seemed the sanction of the injurious articles, and of the threats of usurpation. M. Jules Favre, the Brougham of the Assembly, mounted the tribune and attacked directly the Ministry in one of his nost parliamentary but most incisive and sarcastic speeches. The acclamations of the whole house compelled M. Baroche to answer. The ourport of his speech was, that it was unfair to hold the Ministry responsible for newspaper articles. "But you are responsible for those of your cles. "But you are responsible for those of your favored journals, whose sale you permit in the streets," was cried to him from several parts of the house. "As to that," answered M. Baroche, "the Government has no intention to forbid the ale of Le Moniteur du Soir." 'These words came like a clap of thunder on the Assembly. It is said by persons who should know, that a greater agitation has never been known on the floor of the house. The members all started from their seats

Many of those of the Right surrounded the Ministerial benches, and begged and threatened by turns. M. Baze, a member of the Changar nier party, and questor of the Assembly, sprang to the tribune. "The question no longer regard a journal," said he, "it regards the Ministry, the Elysée, the President. We are, perhaps, on the eve of a usurpation." He concluded by demanding that the Assembly should retire into the bureaux and deliberate on the steps necessary in the conjuncture. This was about to be done. when the courage of M. Baroche gave way. He apologized to the Assembly for his first speech, which was made in answer to the Mountain, a party that had outlawed the majority, and would do again; that his feelings had been wounded by the suspicions entertained of him; that so long as the present Ministry remained in power, no attempt would be made against the Assembly; and that the Ministry disavowed entirely the articles of Le Moniteur du Soir and other journals, which had so justly aroused the susceptibilities of the Assembly. This second speech satisfied the the result would have been. The Assembly would have adopted measures for its own protecion, and the two great powers of the State would sion of the Presidency.

It is currently reported here, however, very different opinion prevails at the Elysée, where it is thought that so favorable an occasion

the offensive articles had been prepared at the Elysée, that the President meditates a usurpation, or that the attempt is to be shortly made. His speech, examined closely, contains only one substantial assertion, which is, that the Ministry, as at present constituted, will not officially aid any such attempt. In the circumstances, this is an much as M. Baroche could say, for it is well known that two parties exist in the Ministry itself on this subject. And, on the whole, we may congratulate ourselves that the storm has blown over. An explosion now between the Legislature and the President would be the signal for revulsions far from profitable to the The morning papers of to-day all bear the red

cople.

Last week, a warm discussion was kept up be The morning papers of to-day all bear the red stamp of the tax gatherer. A deeper tint of the color would be more appropriate, for every stroke of the stamp draws blood from the press. Several journals cease to appear. And which one, think you, heads the list of the dead? It is Le Pouvoir, the same office, and edited, for the most part, by the same body of editors. One is the champion of the Executive and the other of the parliaof the Executive, and the other of the parliamentary power.

Le Proscrit, a monthly commenced by the exiles at London, has not appeared this month.

The Paris publisher has refused to continue its publication, having been menaced by the Govern-nent with the withdrawal of his license to print. is probable that this magazine will cease to ap-

pear.
The discussion of the budget of 1851 progresses rapidly in the Assembly. Whole chapters are voted in a single sitting. The dowry of the Duchess of Orleans and the pensions of widows Duchess of Orleans and the pensions of widows of peers have passed almost without discussion. A warm debate sprung up on the chapter relating to public instruction. The committee on the budget, M. Berryer, chairman, had in its report attacked most insidiously the university for the benefit of the Catholic clergy. For instance, the normal school, which supplies the colleges of France with professors, was menaced with a re-duction in its annual allowance which would have ruined it altogether, and the colleges were to be reduced in number, and to lose their chairs of Philosophy and History. These measures were voted for by the Catholic party and their allies, the burgraves or chief of the royalist parties, but the mass of the members rallied in de-fence of the university. M. Berryer, who dis-played in the discussion a good deal of his former

droitness and eloquence, was beaten.

On the Army budget, General Grammont proposed to reduce the credit for the immense army of Paris. He alluded in plain terms to the notorious quarrel between General Changarnier, commander-in-chief of the army of Paris, and General D'Hautpoul, Minister of War. I say notorious, because numerous collisions between them have made it a matter of common fame When General Changarnier arrests a colonel for answering a letter from the Minister; when he countermands an order by the Minister for the removal from Paris of a large number of troops, and by this double movement of the troops occasions an expense of about thirteen millions, which is evident on the budget; when he breaks up, by his decided opposition, the Minister's plan of forming a camp at Versailles; and when these facts have been followed by the thrice-repeated resignation of the Minister, a resignation not accepted by the President, one would suppose it impossible to deny the dissension. But this is precisely what the Minister did in the discussion, adding many compliments to M. Changarnier.
The haughty General did not answer, except by
stroking his moustaches, and the Minister found
that his humiliation must be its own regard.
The Assembly has reëstablished the censure on

theatres, under pretext of public morality. This institution existed under the reign of Louis Philippe, without any famous moral benefit to the people. It operated only the elimination of allusions to the King or Government, but let pass the dirtiest puns, the most gross double-entendres, and the most revolting obscenities. It was under the censure that the filthy theatrical pieces of M. Clainville were in such vogue, and that such dramas as that of the Paris Ragman were produced. The Provisory Government abolished the cen-Assembly, everybody has been petrified. It is not sure, and the theatres have rather improved than otherwise. There are more political pieces, but What interpetation is it intended the public On the ground of moralizing the theatre, the censembly, on the subject of theatres, is incompre hensible. Only a few days since, a large was voted as a donation to the theatres of Paris. These establishments are considered so moral as to be the worthy recipients of a large portion of the taxes wrung from a people groaning under its burdens, and a week after, so immoral as to need a censor. If the Government withdrew its aid, one half of the present theatres of Paris would not be sustained by the people. They would fall almost to the level of such institutions in the United States.

The Assembly is now discussing a bill for granting better terms to the companies which have undertaken to construct the railroads from Orleans to Bordeaux, and from Tours to Nantes. sed at the tribune last Friday by M. Dupont de In behalf of the companies, it is affirmed that their stock has depreciated to such a degree that they are unable to fulfil their contracts.

The Government favors the bill granting them new privileges. The opposition says that if the companies cannot fulfil their contracts, they can abandon them, and leave the State to finish the roads, and that the bill puts improperly into the hands of the companies a million more than it would cost the State to finish the roads. This ast statement is not contested, but it is probable votion to the liberty of the press, claim the punishment of the publisher of the Moniteur. After its passage, and the opposition press looks on it

as the commencement of a series of acts of favor-itism, like those which produced so much scandal under the reign of Louis Philippe. In the sitting of the 29th ult, M. de Flavigny, of the majority, pronounced a passably violent philippic against the United States, for the seizure of certain French merchant ships at San Francisco. The orator declared that English ships seized at the same time had been released, while the French ones had been so long detained as to have suffered a great deterioration in value.

The goods they bore had been sold at auction with a heavy sacrifice on the value. He de-manded what measures had been taken to procure compensation for the loss on the cargo, and the leterioration of the vessels. He was answered by M. Lahitte, in a very polite and diplomatic speech. He stated, that as soon as he had heard f the seizure, he had taken the necessary step the order had been given immediately, and only delayed in its execution by the length of time required to transmit it to California. He intende

The papers state the number of condemns tions of venders of journals, since the entr of M. Carlier into office, at three hundred. The English papers will give you the full de-tails of the combats of the 24th, and the battle of the 25th ult, in the Duchy of Schleswig. As the description of movements of troops, and changes of fortune during the day, would little interest your readers, I will confine myself to the general result. Their victory has put the Danes possession of the whole Duchy of Schleswig, hile the army of the Duchies has retreated into Iolstein. The two corps of it have effected their unction, and await the attack of the Danes. It s doubtful whether the Danish army will cross the Holstein frontier, as such a step is protested against by Prussia. Meanwhile, General Williander of the army of the Duchies, has see, commander of the army of the Ducaies, has refused to surrender. The German papers give glowing accounts of the levies of recruits in Ger-many, and the contributions of money for the aid of the Duchies, but these are probably highly exaggerated.
The relations between Austria and Prussia

are again disturbed, and each party pretend to be getting ready for a war. But this will probably blow over.

Yours, &c., W.

CALIFORNIA CORRESPONDENCE.

SAN FRANCISCO, June 30, 1850. To the Editor of the National Era : By the transient steamer which left for Pans

occurred here on the 14th-the third fire within the space of seven months, and one which reduced to ashes a portion of the city which had escaped which could have ended only in one of two ways—
the President would have passed to the Tuilleries or to the State prison of Vincennes. In my
opinion, to the latter, for Ganaral Character of our citizens, that misfortunes of this

the two previous fires. The whole ground is again
country, among a strange people, subject taskmasters. In my opinion, it is much worse."
So it seems, according to Mr. Randolph, that
in Virginia children are torm from the mother's

and terrible configrations, our cluzens have united themselves into Engine and Hook and Ladder Companies, and there are already two large and effective engines ready for use, and five or six more have been ordered. Under the dior six more have been ordered. Under the direction of the city authorities, an artesian well will not again be offered; that it had been agreed is now being bored in the main plaza, and three has given great offence to the favorites of the Ely- houses lately erected upon the burnt ground are

eée; and that the President has determined to dismiss him from the Cabinet at an early period.

Certain it is that M. Baroche did not deny that height; and, with all these guards, we need have height; and, with all these guards, we need have no fear of any conflagration so terrible as those which have lately visited us.

Our citizens and the authorities have been in a snarl ever since the first organization of the Board of Aldermen. These disinterested. patriotic gentlemen commenced their labors by mposing a severe tax on every kind of industry. and voting to themselves the very moderate sum of \$6000 per annum, for their services. This touched the people. Public meetings to remonstrate were held, and a committee appointed to resent to the Board of Aldermen a series of solutions adopted by a large mass meeting, in Portsmouth Square. The committee waited upon the Board, but only their chairman was allowed to enter within the bar. The resolutions were presented by him, and after some little discussion, their consideration was indefinitely postponed. This insulting course of the council called down great deal of indignation, and finally the local tax bill has been entirely repealed, and the salary bill promises to meet the same fate.

The fact is, that California is regarded by almost everybody who comes here as a great goose, out of whom feathers are to be plucked, and he who succeeds in getting the most is considered the best fellow. This is particularly exhibited in our governmental affairs; and where salaries are placed so enormously high, a corresponding s. s-tem of taxation must be made to meet them. What think you of a State poll-tax of five dollars per annum, and a county tax of three? These we are paying now, and they are used for the purpose of supporting in office politicians, who generally will leave California as soon as they have made their "pile;" which, at present rates, will not be long. Poor California! from her conquest the present time, she has been lorded over by military and naval tyrants in epaulets; drained by her local officers, insulted and oppressed by the officials of the General Government, and utterly neglected by the mother that should have cher-ished her as her most worthy child. And yet, with all this, there is not found upon our whole continent a more loyal class of citizens than are those in California. True, we have amongst us Hotspurs, ambitious men, ready to build their own ame and fortune, if necessary, upon the ruins of our State, but an immense majority of our citizens are true to the core, and the cry of disunion has as yet, among us, received not a serious

hought.

The progress of vice in our city has been in a neasure stayed by the enactment of an ordinance prohibiting gaming on the Sabbath; which is, I m glad to say, fully complied with. A petition has lately been extensively circulated and signed, praying the common council to cease licensing this system of robbery, and forbid it under severe penalties. I doubt very much whether, at present, this course is practicable. Our state of society is so peculiar, that laws, which in other cities are easily enforced, are here rendered dependent entirely upon public feeling. Here the gambler, who in the United States is looked upon almost with contempt, and who never pre-sumes to speak to a respectable citizen in the street, here he is at the "top of the heap " is the owner of many of our finest buildings, has great influence in our elections—is, in a word, one of the great aristocracy of money, the only aristocracy we know in California. To show you the acility with which money is raised here class of the community, I need only relate to you an incident of Col. Bryant, who is considered a the top of his profession. He came here about a year since, with some capital, and in a few months amassed a fortune by gaming, his profits often being more than a thousand dollars a day, During our county election, he ran for the office of sheriff, in which he was defeated by the celebrated Col. Jack Hays. This election is said to have cost Bryant \$30,000, and, in connection with a series of losses in real estate speculations, com-pletely ruined him. He left heresome six weeks since, with twenty-five dollars in his pocket, proseeded to the Southern mines, and, by a series of successful gambling operations there, succeeded in returning here in one month and paying off about \$25,000 of old debts, besides pocketing a

handsome sum.
One of the prettiest specimens of "getting ound" a law has just been exhibited here. The Common Council passed an ordinance requiring that all bar-rooms should be closed at 12 o'clock midnight, under a severe penalty. As it said nothing about what time they shall open, the landords shut their doors at midnight and five minutes afterwards open for the next day. Our wise councilmen are about remodelling the bill. The news from the mines are very favorable, the

collectors are generally succeeding well in enforcing the tax law in relation to foreign miners, altho n the execution of their duties they meet with great ifficulties. If some action is not soon taken by Congress in regard to us, I am satisfied that ou next Legislature will either diminish the tax or entirely repeal the law. The miners generally are making from five to sixteen dollars per day, and he season is rapidly arriving when the waters will go down, which will make digging during the autumn months very profitable. A new placer has lately been discovered in the vicinity of what has been named "Gold Lake," high upon the Sacramento. One man who has wintered there is eported to have extracted over thirty thousand dollars. Thousands are rushing there, and there s a prospect of a great harvest. working the quartz rock upon the Mariposa with distinguished success—making from twenty to fifty dollars a day to the hand. There has been but little sickness in the mines this year, and the sickly season is now nearly over.

We are particularly blessed with newspapers

here, if the blessing can be said to exist in the number of them. We have now three daily newspapers in active operation, and another, "The Pacific Courier," starts this morning. This latter is supposed to be the organ of the General Govern-ment in California. Another daily paper is to be started by Messrs. E G. & W. A. Buffum, so that San Francisco will ere long be a decidedly literary town.

The entire absence of any news of importance must be my plea for the shortness of this letter. I expect to leave for the "diggins" in a few days, rectly from the "seat of war."

The California leaves to-morrow at noon, with 195 passengers and one million seven hundred and forty thousand dollars in gold dust.

For the National Era. MR. CLAY ON SLAVE BREEDING.

Yours,

Mr. Clay, in his speech the 22d ultimo, took Mr. Davis of Massachusetts severely to task, for intimating that slaves might be bred in New Mexico for markets in other States. He was shocked and surprised" at this intimation, and eclared "this charge upon the slaveholding States, of breeding slaves for market, is utterly fuls and groundless. No such purpose ever enters, I believe, into the mind of any slaveholder."

The Senator from Kentucky is not always oract in the use of his language. Neither Mr. Davis nor any other well-informed person ever charged the slave States collectively with breeding slaves for market, for the obvious reason that some of the States are importers of slaves—not sellers, but buyers of human beings. Where slave labor is profitable, slaves are bred for use and purchased of others. Where such labor yields little or no return, there slaves are bred for exportation. Mr. Clay is wonderfully incredlous and wonderfully ignorant of existing facts, if he truly believes that no such purpose as breed-ing slaves for market ever enters the mind of a

Mr. Davis, being a Northern man, is, of course, an incompetent witness, since we are continually assured that the people of the North do not understand "the peculiar institution." Let us hear, then, what Southern witnesses testify on the sub-

THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH, in a speech in THOMAS JEFFERSON KANDOLPH, in a speech in the Virginia Legislature, (1832,) declared that the State had been converted into "one grand menagerie, where MEN ARK EEARED FOR THE MARKET, like oxen for the shambles" In the same speech, he thus compared the African and Virginia slave trade: "The trader (African) receives the slave, Assembly. This second speech satisfied the By the transient steamer which left for Pana-a stranger in aspect, language, and manner, from the interior. Baroche persisted, it is impossible to tell what this, been informed of the disastrous fire which But here, air, individuals whom the master has known from infancy—whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood—who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, he tears from the mother's arms, and sells into a strange

opinion, to the latter, for General Changarnier, who has the command of the army of Paris, would have had no difficulty in securing the person of M. Bonaparte, and receiving himself the succession of the Presidency.

on in advance that the Ministry should disavow nothing; that the second speech of M. Baroche has given great offence to the favorates of the Fly.

not check the black population as much as at first we might imagine, because it furnishes every in ducement to the master to attend to the negroes to encourage breeding, and to cause the greatest num-ber possible to be raised. * * Virginia is in fact a negro-raising State for other States."

Let us now learn, still from Southern witnesses, something of the amount of the revenue which

something of the amount of the revenue which thus "encourage breeding, and cause the greatest number possible to be raised."

Mr. Charles Ferton Mercer asserted in the Virginia Convention, (1829): "The tables of the natural growth of the slave population demonstrate, when compared with the increase of its numbers in the Commonwealth for twenty years past, that an annual revenue of not less than a million and a half of dollars is derived from the exportation of a part of this population."—Debates, Page 90.

Page 90.

Owing to various circumatances, breeding be came vasily more profitable after 1829. We find in the Virginia Times, 1836, an article, copied into the Baltimore Register, on the importance of in-creasing the banking capital of the Common-wealth. The writer estimates the number of slaves exported from the State the "last twelve at FORTY THOUSAND, each slave aver aging six hundred dollars, thus yielding a capita of TWENTY FOUR MILLIONS, of which he contends thirteen millions might be contributed for bank

ing purposes.

Mr. Gholson had none of Mr. Clay's presen squeamishness about breeding for sale, when in the Virginia Legislature, 18th January, 1831, he claimed the right of "the owner of brood mares to their product, and of the owner of female slave to their increase;" and added, "the legal maxin of 'partus sequitur ventrem' is coeval with the or partus sequent ventrem is covar with the existence of the right of property itself, and is founded in wisdom and justice. It is on the justice and inviolability of this maxim that the mastice and inviolability of this maxim that the master foregoes the service of a female slave—has her nursed and attended during the period of her gestation, and raises the helpless infant offspring. The value of the property justifies the expense; and I do not hesitate to say that in its increase consists much of our wealth." It is no wonder this same gentleman was anxious for the annexation of Texas, declaring that "he believed the acquisition of Texas, would raise the price of slaves sition of Texas would raise the price of slave

fifty per cent. at least."
We might go into the details of the Virgini trade, and show the barbarities and loss of life which attend it, but we forbear, and content ourselves with notices of two dealers in a single town in South Carolina. John Wood of Hamburgh advertised that " he has on hand a likely parcel of Virginia negroes, and receives new supplies every fifteen days." John Davis of the same place adyeerised for sale, from Virginia, "one hundred and twenty likely young negroes of both sexes," and among them "small girls suitable for nurses, and several smill boys without their mothers." We have now offered, we think, sufficient tes

timony to prove that the purpose of breeding slaves for sale does enter into the minds of some slaveholders, and that Mr. Davis's intimation t that effect was not "utterly false and groundless. But we must still call one more witness, and one every way competent, except that his memory is occasionally treacherous. The witness we call is none other than the Hon. Henry Clay of Kentucky. This gentleman in 1829 delivered an address before the Kentucky Colonization Society. After showing that when the option existed of employing free or slave labor, the first was the most profitable, he remarked—"It is believed that nowhere in the farming portion of the United States would slave labor be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to raise slaves by the high price of the Southern market, which keeps

And now we ask, in all soberness, if slave labor is unprofitable in the farming slaves States—that is, in those States which do not produce rice, sugar, and cotton—and yet the breeding, or if Mr. Clay prefers the term, the raising of slaves, is there stimulated and encouraged by the high price of the Southern market, why was Mr. Clay so shocked and surprised because it was supposed that the same cause might lead to the breeding of slaves in New Mexico? Mr. Webster, it is true, contends that the law of the Earth's formation and Asiatic scenery renders it physically impossible for slaves to labor in New Mexico, but he has never insisted that it was physically impossible for them to bear children there. Now, if there be no such impossibility, why, we ask, may not slave children be exported to "the Southern market" from New Mexico, as well as from Virginia and the other farming slave States?

THE MORNING WATCH: A NARRATIVE.*

This poem-which has faults enough to ruin an ordinary candidate for poetical distinction, and merit enough to atone for still greater-is a sort of religious allegory or representation of the spiritual pilgrimage of life. An aged traveller tells the story of his journey from childhood - his temptations and experiences in the world of sin and death-his escape into a purer atmosphereand his earnest strivings to reach the far-off land of beauty and peace and holiness, concerning which vague intimations had reached him. As a whole it fails of its intended effect, through lack of distinctness and method; and there is a slipshod negligence in much of its versification. Its beauty is in detached passages of sentiment or description, where the rhythm flows on softly and musically, with a dreamy yet not unpleasing vagueness, like a prolongation of Coleridge's dream of Kubla Khan. The following passage may serve as an illustration:

And the crimson moon goes up and on Into the agure of the sky Westerly a cloud sails by; And from the dawn it taketh away Crimson and white and apple gray. Silently, as sails the cloud,
The night-dews rise in wreaths of mist; The cataract of the mountains, loud Silver and gold and amethyst: And what like muffled thunder seem Is the low crumbling crush and roas

The air is still: even as a bell But now, as a bell, they seem to say, All voices near or far away
From the distant hills and mountains gray, Or the uttermost parts of the sounding sea, 'May God have mercy upon this day!'

Wondering I looked at the sweet Heaven That such a prayer must needs be given, So bright, I said, so pure and holy Doth seem this golden day! But straightway came the better thought, That 'twas my sin the prayer had wrought The burden of my sin which lay Even as a curse upon the day— A subtle poison running through

The white mist and the morning dew. In the following impressive lines, the healing influences of Nature upon the sin-sick and guilty spirit of the wanderer are well described

> As by the mountains and the sea And by the lonely cataract, within An atmosphere of peace and love, With voices which acceptably above Was as my daily food, my breath, my life, and free Within some lofty nave alone Breathes in the music of the choir, and with a still wail witnesses The Holy Mysteries, But does not raise His voice, or utter one ' Amen,' Or in the 'Gloria' swell the hymn of praise But, kneeling far apart,

All mute and lone, Hears only one deep tone— The music of a prayer unuttered at his heart-Thought, but not daring speech-'Christ have mercy upon us!'
So by the lonely cataract, on the hill, And by the mountains and the sea, I heard the everlasting worship and was still I heard the everlasting worship and was still:
At last there came a change: methought that all
The sweet low voices musical,
From falling waters and the evening breeze,
Bound seaward o'er the forest trees,
And from the mountain passes and the sea,
Forever and forever rose for me,

Forever through the still and starry night, Forever in the sun and in the light, In storm and tempest and the rocking winds, Like angels flying o'er A land accursed, and evermore Beseeching Heaven, 'Spare, eh, spare!

The power of the author, however, may be per haps better inferred from a passage like the fol

lowing, describing a vision of the lost world: Within the sun-illumined space, star strewn,
Monstrous and formless, as though thrown
From Chaos and the Everlasting Night—
Which gave not, nor received, but backward hurled
Upon the skies the music and the Hight—
Silent amidst rebicings, salled a silent World! Its light, if such it was, was as the light

Where ever storm and darkness and affright Mingle perpetually. Its sky, low hung and starless, such as night And coming tempest flash upon the sight-A darkness beaded as the sea with foam,

Where slept the lightnings of the wrath to come!

Upon this silent world there stood A vast and countless multitude, With downward eyes, and lips of bloodless white; And speechless all—no word of love or hate, Or fear or agency—no sigh or moan. But, as from some ponderous bell, sky hung, Unseen within the vault above, In pauces from its iron tongue Fell through the gloom (as 'twere a groan From all that host) one deep, sad tone—
A single toll; at which all eyes were raised And lips apart; each looked a kind of joy-Something like madness—but soon again, As a quick lightning to the brain,

A mother and her child met there That, so it seemed, a milder mood But the mother gazed at her speechless child. One with a look so wan and wild.

And with so blank despair the other And prayed (oh, God forgive the sin!) That Jesus Christ might die again, Or some quick madness set them free From such unnatural misery. But still they gazed, that child and mother, And still with look more terrible; Till suddenly each spurned the other,

And then forever on them fell

(Oh, type and countersign of Hell!)
That look of woe unutterable!" There is something in this vividly drawn and errible picture which reminds one of Dante's Inferno. We can call to mind few passages in modern poetry which may so well compare with the grand and awful fancies of the "dark Italian Hierophant."

The entire poem, pervaded as it is by deep religious feeling and reverence, and evincing on almost every page an enthusiastic love of the beauty and harmony of Nature, leaves a pleasing npression of the author, not unconnected with ome degree of regret that he did not more carefully elaborate his production, and render it, as a whole, worthy of the praise which portions of it so well merit.

* New York : G. P. Putnam. Pp. 175.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS - FIRST SESSION. SENATE.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1850. We indicated in our last, that the Senate on Tuesday passed the bill for the admission of Cali-fornia into the Union as a State. Prior to taking

fornia into the Union as a State. Prior to using the vote, the debate was continued by Messrs. Douglas, Davis of Mississippi, Clemens, Houston, Berrien, Ewing, and Cass, and after some remarks by Messrs. Atchison and Houston,

The question was taken on the passage of the bill, and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 4, nays 18, as follows:
YEAS—Messrs. Baldwin, Bell, Benton, Brad-

bury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dickinson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Ewing, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Houston, Jones, Miller, Norris, Phelps, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb, and Winthrop...34 and Winthrop-34.

Navs-Messrs. Atchison, Barnwell, Berrien,

Butler, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Foote, Hunter, King, Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soulé, Turney, and Yulee—18. Mr. Douglas moved that the Senate take up

Mr. Douglas moved that the Senate take upbill No. 170, being the bill providing a Territorial Government for New Mexico.

Mr. Butler (Mr. Douglas withdrawing his motion) said that a portion of the minority would, on to-morrow, ask leave to have entered on the journal a protest against the bill just now passed.

Mr. Douglas renewed his motion, and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 24, nays 15.

The bill was then read a second time.

The bill was then read a second time.

Mr. Douglas moved that the bill be postponed till to-morrow, and be made the special order of the day at 12 o'clock, and for every day thereafter Mr. Rusk objected to this course of making

Mr. Rusk objected to this course of making special orders so fast one after another.

Mr. Butler suggested that the Fugitive Slave bill had the preference.

Messrs. Foote, Mason, Butler, Dickinson, and Hale, continued the debate; and then The motion of Mr. Douglas was agreed to yeas 25, nays 14.
Mr. Hale moved that the Senate proceed to the

consideration of Executive business.

A motion was made to adjourn; which was agreed to—yeas 18, nays 14. And the Senate adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1850. Petitions were presented by Messrs. Cass, Downs, Winthrop, Hale, Norris, and Badger. Mr. Rusk presented the petition of William A. Bradley and others, praying certain repairs in

Mr. Cooper presented the petitions of sundry citizens of Pennsylvania, praying a modification Mr. Hunter said that he rose to ask leave to

submit a motion, which be well knew he had no right to demand, but which he desired to ask of the courtesy of the Senate. It was that a protest, signed by ten Senators, against the passage of the bill to admit California, be received, read, and spread upon the journal.

Mr. Hale asked that the paper might be read.

Mr. Hale asked that the paper might be read.

[The paper was read by the Sccretary of the
Senate, and will be given next week.]

Mr. Davis of Massachusetts asked what the
question before the Senate was? The President said that the question was on the motion to receive the paper and have it en-

the motion to receive the paper and have it entered on the Journal.

Mr. Davis of Massachusetts, said that there was nothing in the Constitution which authorized such a proceeding. There was no precedent for it. At the time when the expunging resolution was under consideration, and was passed, he and his colleague united in a protest against the measure, and the Senate refused to receive it. Similar results, he understood, attended other applications. He opposed the principle of the matter. If this protest was received, and spread upon the Journal, how could other applications of a similar character be refused hereafter. If it was allowed to have the record made up with the arguments and reasons of one side, why not extend guments and reasons of one side, why not extend the same privilege to the other side. He had no objections to anything contained in this paper, but if the principle were once recognised and established, what was to prevent other papers, containing matter which was frivolous and wanting in respect to the body, being presented, and spread upon the Journal? He opposed the established

spread upon the Journal? He opposed the es-tablishment of any precedent for papers of this kind, and advocated an adhesion to the former practices of the Senate.

Mr. Hunter said that he was well aware that he could claim no right to have this paper entered; he submitted the motion entirely as a question of

The President explained that there was noth-The Fresident explained that there was nothing in the Constitution respecting this matter. He referred to the case mentioned by the Senator from Massachusetts, and read from the journal of debates to show that no protest had been presented on that occasion. Under all circumstances the question was one for the Senate and not for the Chair to decide.

Chair to decide.

Mr. Foote greatly regretted that the protest
had been submitted, and stated the reasons why
he had not signed it. He would vote, however, for the motion.

Mr. Shields said that this protest being entered

Mr. Shields said that this protest being entered on the Journal, or whether it were not, would have no effect upon the country. The protest would go to the country, whether it was entered on the Journal or not. It would be in the papers to-morrow. He was sorry that any objection had been made. He was in favor of recognising the right of petition and complaint. This he considered in the nature of a complaint by the minority, and he was in favor of receiving it and entering it upon the Journal.

nority, and he was in rayor of receiving it and entering it upon the Journal.

Messrs. Baldwin and Hale opposed the motion to have it entered on the Journal.

Mr. Cass said that he would vote for the mo-Mr. Cass said that he would vote for the motion. The power was unquestioned, and being a
question entirely addressed to their discretion,
he saw no reason, upon such an important measure as this, to refuse the request of the Senators.
The question was one of courtesy, not only to the
Senators, but to the States they represent.
Mr. Winthrop opposed the motion.
Mr. Butler replied.

Mr. Butler replied.
Mr. Davis of Mississippi replied to the object

Mr. Davis of Mississippi replied to the objections urged.

Mr. Berrien followed in support of the motion.

Mr. Badger stated that he had serious objections to the course proposed, but, under all the circumstances, he would vote for the motion.

Mr. Benton opposed the motion at length.

Mr. Downs agreed with the Senator from North Carolina. He opposed the whole pinciple of entering protests on the Journal, but would vote for the motion.

Mr. Pratt was proceeding in an argument against entering the protest on the Journal, when, in order to give time to examine the paper, he

moved the subject be postponed till to-morrow, which motion was agreed to.

The Senate, on motion of Mr. Douglas, proceeded to the consideration of the bill to establish the Territorial Governments of Utah and New Mexico, and other purposes.

Mr. Douglas moved, and all that part of the bill relating to Utah and the Texas boundary was stricken out.

Mr. Douglas moved, and the boundaries of New Mexico were changed so as to be as follows: Mr. Douglas moved, and the boundaries of New Mexico were changed so as to be as follows: "Beginning at a point in the Colorado river where the boundary line of the republic of Mexico crosses the same; thence eastwardly with the said boundary line to the Rio Grande; thence following the main channel of said river to the 32d degree of north latitude; thence east with said degree to its intersection with the 103d degree of longitude west of Greenwich; thence north with said degree of longitude to the par-

degree of longitude west of Greenwich; thence north with said degree of longitude to the parallel of the 38th degree of north latitude; thence west with said parallel to the summit of the Sierra Madre; thence south with the crest of said mountains to the 37th parallel of north latitude; thence west with said parallel to its intersection with the boundary line of the State of California; thence with said boundary line to the place of beginning."

Mr. Douglas submitted the following as an additional section:

Mr. Winthrop submitted an amendment to the third section, to the effect that the award of the commissioners shall not stay or hinder a writ of habeas corpus, &c.

And this amendment, after debate by Messrs. Winthrop, Dayton, Mason, and Berrien, was rejected—yeas 11, nays 26, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Chase, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dodge of Wisconsin, Greene, Phelps, Smith, Upham, Wales, Walker, and Win-

tersection with the boundary line of the State of California; thence with said boundary line to the place of beginning."

Mr. Douglas submitted the following as an additional section:

That the provisions of this act be and the same are hereby suspended until such time as the boundary between the United States and the State of Texas shall be adjusted by the consent of both parties, and when the same shall be adjusted, the President of the United States shall issue his proclamation declaring this act to be in full force.

Upon this amendment a debate ensued between Upon this amendment a debate ensued between

Messrs. Foote, Underwood, and Douglas.

Mr. Benton submitted the following as a endment to the amendment: Strike out after the word "be" in line secon strike out after the word "be" in line second to end of section, and insert, "confined to that part of New Mexico which was actually settled, held, and occupied as a part of New Mexico at the time of the cession of the country to the United States, and which is not included."

Messrs. Benton, Rusk, Underwood, Pratt, Chase, Atchison, and Bradbury, debated the amendment.

mendment.

Mr. Davis of Mississippi moved the bill be

Mr. Davis of Mississippi moved the bill be postponed till to-morrow, and the question being taken, the Senate refused to postpone—yeas 10, nays 30—as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Chase, Davis of Mississippi, Greene, Hale, Mason, Miller, Morton, Sebastian, Turney, and Winthrop—10.

Nays—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Benton, Berrien, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Dawson, Dickinson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Foote, Hamlin, Houston, Jones, King, Mangum, Norris, Pratt, Rusk, Smith, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb, and Yulee—30.

Messrs. Winthrop, Douglas, and Chase, con-Messrs. Winthrop, Douglas, and Chase, con-

And the debate.

And the question being taken on the amendment of Mr. Benton, it was rejected by the folowing vote:
YEAS—Messrs. Baldwin, Benton, Chase, Dodge
of Wisconsin, Hale, Underwood, Upham, and

Vinthrop—8.

Nays—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Bell, Berrien, Bradbury, Cass, Cooper, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Dodge of Iows, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Foote, Houston, Hunter, Jones, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Norris, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Shields, Smith, Soulé, Sturgeon, Tur-

ney, and Wales—31.

Mr. Bradbury moved to amend the amendment of Mr. Douglas, by striking out the words "by the consent of parties." Carried. And then the amendment of Mr. Douglas was agreed to.

Mr. Foote moved, and the bill was amended by

adding thereto:
"And provided, further, That when admitted as a State, the said Territory or any portion of the same shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their Constitution may proscribe at the time of their admission." Mr. Chase moved to amend by inserting in the 22d section the following:

"Nor shall there be in said Territory either

slavery or involuntary servitude, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and have been

shall have been duly convicted, and personally guilty."

And the question being taken thereon, the same was rejected, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Baldwin, Bradbury, Bright, Chase, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dodge of Wisconsin, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Norris, Phelps, Shields, Smith, Upham, Walk-

er, Whitoomb, and Winthrop—20.

NAYS—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Bell, Benton, Berrien, Cass, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Dodge of Iowa, Downs, Foote, Houston, Hunter, Jones, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soulé, Sturgeon, Underwood, and Wales—25 and Wales-25. Mr. Hale moved, and that part of the bill regulating the courts of the Territories was amended

by inserting the following:
"Except only that in all cases involving title to slaves, the said writs of error or appeals shall be allowed and decided by the said Supreme Court, without regard to the value of the matter, property, or title in controversy, and except, also, that a writ of error or appeal shall also be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States from the decision of the said Supreme Court created by this act, or of any judge thereof, Court created by this act, or of any judge thereof, or of the district courts created by this act, or of any judge thereof, or upon any writ of habeas corpus involving the question of personal freedom.

"And the said supreme and district courts of the said Territory, and the respective judges thereof, shall and may grant writs of habeas corpus in all cases in which the same are grantable by the judges of the United States in the District of Columbia."

The hill was then reported to the Senate and

The bill was then reported to the Senate, and the amendments made in Committee of the Whole

were agreed to.

And then, on motion, the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

Mr. Hale moved, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of Executive business, and shortly afterwards adjourned.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 15, 1850. Mr. Mason moved that the bill No. 23, being the bill to provide for the more effectual execution of the third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the Uni-ted States, be taken up, and made the special or-der of the day for Monday next, and every day

thereafter till disposed of.

After some remarks by Messrs. Cass, Mason, and Butler, the motion was agreed to. and Butler, the motion was agreed to.

Mr. Hunter moved, and the Senate proceeded
to the consideration of the motion to receive and
spread upon the Journal the protest signed by
ten Senators, against the passage of the California
bill. He modified the protest by inserting therein

the following additional paragraph:
"Because the admission of California as a State "Because the admission of California as a State into the Union, without any previous reservation assented to by her of the public domain, might involve an actual surrender of that domain to, or at all evests place its future disposal at the mercy of that State, and as no reservation in the bill can be binding upon her until she assents to it, as her dissent 'hereafter' would in no manner affect or

dissent 'hereafter' would in no manner affect or impair the act of her admission."

The debate on the reception of the Protest was continued by Messrs. Badger, Walker, Hunter, Benton, Butler, Houston, Cass, Pratt, Davis of Mississippi, Downs, Whitcomb, and Turney; after which, Mr. Norris moved that the motion to receive

Mr. Norris moved that the motion to receive be laid on the table.

The yeas and nays being called, the motion was agreed to—yeas 22, nays 19, as follows:
YEAS—Messrs. Badger, Benton, Bradbury, Bright, Chase, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dodge of Wisconsin, Downs, Greene, Hamlin, Houston, Miller, Norris, Phelps, Pratt, Smith, Underwood, Upham, Wales, Walker, and Winthenn—22.

Underwood, Upham, Wales, Walker, and Winthrop—22.

Nays—Mesers. Atchison, Barnwell, Berrien, Butler, Case, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Dickinson, Dodge of Iowa, Hunter, Mason, Morton, Rusk, Sebastian, Shields, Soulé, Sturgeon, Turney, and Yulee—19.

Mr. Douglas moved, and engrossed bill No. 170, being the bill to establish a Territorial Government for New Mexico, was read a third time.

The question being on its passage,
Mr. Upham called for the yeas and nays, which were ordered, and resulted as follows:

YEAS—Mesers. Atchison, Badger, Benton, Berrien, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Cooper, Dawson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Houston, Hunter, King, Mangum, Mason, Norris, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Shields, Sturgeon, Underwood, Wales, and Whitcomb—27.

peculiar features of which we are unable to present to our readers to-day.

Mr. Dayton moved to amend the bill by adding an amendment heretofore offered by Mr. Webster, granting a jury trial to the slave; and the question being taken, it was rejected—yeas 11, nays 27, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Chase, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dodge of Wisconein, Greene, Hamlin, Phelps, Smith, Upham, Walker, and Winthrop—11.

NAYS—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Barnwell, Bell, Benton, Berrien, Butler, Cass, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Dodge of Iowa, Downs, Houston, Jones, King, Mangum, Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soulé, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Wales, and Yulee.—27.

Mr. Chase proposed an amendment, the effect

Underwood, Wales, and Yulee.—27.

Mr. Chase proposed an amendment, the effect of which was, under certain circumstances, to require a trial by jury, and this was rejected.

Mr. Winthrop submitted an amendment to the third section, to the effect that the award of the

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Tuesday, August 13, 1850.

The Speaker announced reports to be in order rom select committees, when

Mr. Jones, from the Committee on Rules, made

the following report:
At the end of the provise of the twenty-fourth rule, which is in the following words, viz:
"That where debate is closed by order of the House, any member shall be allowed, in committee, five minutes to explain any amendment he may offer," insert as follows:

"After which any member who shall first obtain the floor shall be allowed to speak five minutes in opposition to it; and there shall be no further debate on the amendment, but the same privilege of debate shall be allowed in favor of and against any amendment that may be offered

and against any amendment that may be offered to the amendment; and neither the amendment, nor an amendment to the amendment, shall be withdrawn by the mover thereof, unless by the unanimous consent of the House."

Mr. Jones said all were aware that, under the

rules, five minutes were allowed, after general debate was closed, for explanation of amendments and all were aware that under this rule some o and all were aware that under this rule some of the most business-like and beneficial debates had taken place; but he thought that it had likewise ben seen that this rule has been abused. It was originally intended, as all must know, to give the mover of an amendment, particularly to appro-priation bills, an opportunity to explain. All were aware that amendments had been transferred from one to another, and debate thus prolonged. This report was from the Committee on Rules, and pro-posed to extend the right of a member offering an amendment to make five minutes' explanation to any other member desiring to reply, and that ther there shall be no further debate. The same privithere shall be no further decate. In a same privi-lege was to prevail with regard to an amendment to an amendment; then the committee shall vote; and the mover shall not be permitted to withdraw it without the unanimous consent of the commit-

tee. He moved the previous question.

Mr. Thompson of Mississippi expressed the hope that the gentleman, after making a speech, would withdraw the motion. would withdraw the motion.

Mr. Jones did so, merely to say that the report
was from the Committee on Rules, and was offered for the purpose of endeavoring to facilitate the
business of the House; and they had instructed
him to demand the previous question.

A conversation ensued, after which Mr. McLane addressed the House at some length. He
was followed by:

was followed by
Mr. Inge, who concurred in the views expressed
by the gentleman from Maryland, [Mr. McLane.]
The object is to gag the minority, and compel
them to submit to injurious, unjust, and hasty legislation; and it was a matter of surprise to him that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Jones] should make himself instrumental in bringing should make himself instrumental in bringing forward the proposition. He did not question the right of that gentleman to do so, but the gentleman would find few members of the South who have an identity of interest with himself. The gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Stephens,] and the gentleman from Texas, [Mr. Kaufman,] members of the Committee on Rules, were absent; and he ventured to express the opinion that neither of them would have assented to the proposition; they would have revolted at it. The proposition is offensive because it accomplishes nothing, and its object is insulting in its character. No member called the proposition of t ber can hesitate to pronounce it as absurd, with-out referring to the sectional questions which in-fidence our judgment. One branch is, that no member shall withdraw an amendment. Mr. Ashmun said that he did not rise to dis-

cuss the merits of the proposition, as it was so plain and simple that the common sense of the House could not fail perfectly to understand it. He supposed that the reason why the previous question was withdrawn this morning was to enable the gentleman from Maryland and the gentleman from Alabama to make able and very lucid arguenjoyed all the light which these distinguished gentlemen were able to shed in opposition to the amendment. He would barely remark, in relation to the comments which the gentleman from Alabama made on the committee, and the lecture which he read to the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. Jones,] as being the instrument—that is to say, the tool—in the hands of the committee for say, the tool—in the hands of the committee for reporting a measure designated as an outrage on Southern rights, that the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. Jones.] being a Southern man, may take the lecture to himself, and receive it as he pleases, and reply to it; it did not belong to him, [Mr. Ashmun.] But he might, for the information of the House, state that when the report was agreed to in committee, there were present three Northern and two Southern gentlemen, and they were unanimous. The latter, he repeated, concurred fully in the report, and therefore, if there has been any outrage attempted on Southern rights. been any outrage attempted on Southern rights, as pretended by the gentleman from Alabama, these two gentlemen were agents in the transac-tion. After this plain statement, and with a view to close the debate, he would move the previous

Mr. Holmes asked for the yeas and nays. Mr. Johnson of Arkansas moved that there be

Mr. Johnson of Arkansas moved that there be a call of the House.

The Speaker, in reply to a question, said that as a motion had been made to recommit the report presented this morning, if the House should pass to the consideration of other matters, this would be morning-hour business, and the first in order when committees are again called.

Mr. Bayly said: This subject will come up to-morrow, when the House will be in a better humor; I therefore move that the House resolve it-self into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The motion was agreed to, and the Committee

took up the civil and diplomatic appropriation Mr. Seddon of Virginia occupied an hour in Mr. Seddon of Virginia occupied an nour in the consideration of the message of the President with regard to the boundary of Texas and New Mexico, and in condemnation of the position as-sumed by the Executive, which he regarded as ut-

sumed by the Executive, which are regard as attempt subversive of the fundamental principles of our Government, and as tending to change the republican from into one of consolidation.

Mr. Ashmun obtained the floor, when the Comnittee rose, and the House adjourn WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1850. The House resumed the consideration of the

Carolina.

The House then took a recess until 7 o'clock.
In the evening, Messrs, Sackett of New York,
Marshall of Kentneky, and McKissock, spoke
upon the same subject.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 16, 1850. FRIDAY, AUGUST 16, 1850.

The House resolved itself into Committee of Whole, and took up the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. Mr. Ewing proceeded to speak upon the President's New Mexico message. He not was followed by—

Mr. Sweetser, who commenced remarks, and had proceeded far, when

The hour to which the general debate was limited arrived.

ited arrived.

Mr. Bayly said that he was anxious to expres

Mr. Bayly said that he was anxious to express his views at length on the President's message, but as the rule gives s gentleman who reports a bill the privilege of closing the debate to defend it from attacks made upon it, he should not violate its spirit. He then replied to remarks which had been made with reference to the Committee of Ways and Means, of which he is the chairman, and stated, in relation to the petitions referred to it asking for a modification of the tariff, that the committee intend to report to the House that it committee intend to report to the House that it is inexpedient to act upon the subject. The Clerk read the first clause of the bill, as

The Clerk read the first clause of the bill, as follows:

"For compensation and mileage of Senators, members of the House of Representatives, and delegates, four hundred and sixteen thousand three hundred and thirty-eight dollars: Provided, That the mileage of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates, shall hereafter be computed on the route by which the mails are transported from the Capitol to the residence of such Senator, Representative, or Delegate: And provided, further, That no such member of either branch of Congress, residing east of the Rocky mountains, shall receive more than one thousand dollars mileage for each session, and no such member or delegate residing west of the Rocky mountains shall receive more than two thousand dollars mileage for each session, nor shall any member of the Senate receive mileage for any session of that body which may be called within thirty days after the adjournment of both Houses of Congress, unless the travel for which such mileage is charged has been actually performed."

Mr. Johnson of Tennessee moved to amend, by adding a proviso: that the salaries of all officers civil and military, as well as members of Congress holding office under the Government, where the salary is over one thousand dollars, and no const tutional prohibition, from and after the first Mon day in December, 1850, shall be reduced one fifth upon the whole amount of salary; provided it does not reduce the salary below one thousand dollars, and then down to that sum.

Mr. J. said that the time had arrived to com

mence retrenchment. The appropriation bills call for more than \$52,000,000 to be expended during the present fiscal year. In less than two of three years reform will be the watchword party, unless the spirit of extravagance be now resisted; and they should begin with this amend The question was then taken, and it was dis

A debate followed upon the mileage and pay of members, during which numerous propositions were made and rejected. And the House adjourned. SATURDAY, AUGUST 17, 1850.

Nothing of importance was transacted to-day.

Monday, August 19, 1850. The House refused to suspend the rules for the purpose of making the Territorial, Texas bound-ary, and California bills, the order of the day for to-morrow. The same result attended a mo-tion to suspend for the purpose of introducing a resolution to adjourn on the second Monday in

September.
The House then resolved itself into Committe of the Whole, and took up the Civil and Diplo

Upon the Mutilation of the Territory of the United

fect of which was to exclude from the proposed Territory all east of the Rio Grande north of 38

ittle at the progress we are making in this mat-er of the boundary of New Mexico.

ter of the boundary of New Mexico.

The first proposition submitted to the Senate on this subject was that of the honorable Senator from Missouri, which contemplated a reduction of the boundary of Texas to the 102d meridian on the west and the Red river on the north, and would give in effect, a line commencing at the inwould give, in effect, a line commencing at the inersection of the Rio Grande with the 102d degree of longitude, following that meridian to about its intersection with the thirty-fourth parallel of north latitude, and thence runing eastwardly to the intersection of the 100th meridian with the Red river. That boundary would have saved in-tact to Texas all her actual possessions, and intact to New Mexico, or rather to the United States, all

to New Mexico, or rather to the United States, all that was in the possession of either at the date of the treaty Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The next proposition was that contained in the resolutions of the Senator from Kentucky, [Mr. Clay,] submitted to the Senate early in the session. These resolutions did not propose a definite line resolution in the senator from the session. line, ascertained in its commencement and its course. They did propose, however, the south-ern line of New Mexico, wherever that might be, from the Rio Grande to the southwestern angle of the Indian territory, where the 100th meridian crosses the Red river, as the boundary between the United States and Texas. The resolutions

country, and a payment to Texas of—; that is, con millions of dollars. This line cut off seventy thousand square miles—almost enough for two States like Ohio—which once belonged to New Mexico; which was Mexican territory at the date of the treaty; which was never in the possession of Texas; which no Texan ever saw before annexation, except as a prisoner; cut off all this from the Territory of the United States, and conceded it to Texas. That proposition was the third in order, and the opposition to the omnibus bill, of which it was a principal feature, was main-

bill, of which it was a principal feature, was mainly directed against the enormity of paying ten millions of dollars to Texas for a boundary which gave the United States nothing, but actually yielded to Texas so large a territory to which she had no title, and which neither proposition, previously made, had contemplated yielding to her. The original opposition, and the continued and strenuous opposition to the omnibus bill, rested very much upon this objection to it.

After that bill had been defeated, the Senator from Maryland brought in his Texan boundary. from Maryland brought in his Texan boundary bill, which proposed to cut still another large slice—part of New Mexico—from the Territory of the United States, and give it to Texas. It is true that this boundary would save to the United States an angle containing some eight or ten thousand square miles, surrendered by the omni-bus line; but the additional slice cut off contain-d shout thirty thousand square miles, making a bus line; but the additional slice cut off contained about thirty thousand square miles, making a difference between the omnibus boundary and that proposed by the Senator from Maryland of about twenty thousand square miles. Notwithstanding this great reduction in area of the territory of the United States, notwithstanding this yest enlargement of the concession of territory.

peculiar features of which we are unable to present to our readers to-day.

Mr. Dayton moved to amend the bill by adding an amendment heretofore offered by Mr. Webster, granting a jury trial to the slave; and the Marshall of Kentucky, and McKissock, spoke

Duer, McLane of Maryland, and Ashe of North Carolina.

The House then took a recess until 7 o'clock. In the evening, Messrs, Sackett of New York, Marshall of Kentucky, and McKissock, spoke 103d meridian. New Mexico, then, is confined to the limits between the thirty-second parallel of north latitude and the thirty-eighth parallel; and, so far as the actual settlements are concern-ed, between the Rio Grande and the one hundred ed, between the Rio Grande and the one hundred and third degree of west longitude. Now, the simple question, with respect to the amendment of the Senator of Missouri, is this—shall these limits be so extended as to include that territory, which a majority of the Senate believe to belong to the United States, as an acquisition from Mexico, and within which the inhabitants are entitled to the privileges guarantied by the treaty? I shall vote for that amendment. And I will also say that I cannot vote for this bill, which proposes for New Mexico limits on the east of the Rio Grande so restricted. Grande so restricted.

And now that I have the floor, Mr. President,

And now that I have the floor, Mr. President, I will, under the indulgence of the Senate, briefly express my own view of the proper mode to dispose of the general question between the United States and Texas.

I have no disposition to take from Texas a foot nor an inch which rightfully belongs to her; but I have regarded from the beginning this question of boundary as one to be adjusted—since the United States now stands in the place of Mexico—by some fair and competent tribunal. I have been willing to leave it to commissioners, and have voted for propositions intended to effect that object. I have been willing to commit its decision to the Supreme Court of the United States, and it seemed to me that, organized as we all know that supreme Court of the United States, and it seemed to me that, organized as we all know that court to be, nothing more than this could be desired by the advocates of the Texan claim. Certainly the absence of all bias against the claim of Texas, on the part of that tribunal, will not be doubted. If neither of these modes of termina the dispute should prove accentable to Texas. ting the dispute should prove acceptable to Texas, I would, for one, consent cheerfully to refer the whole matter to the arbitrament of intelligent and disinterested individuals, whether Americans

and disinteressed intriducis, waters Americans or foreigners. But, in either case, the question submitted should be the question of boundary, to be determined as a matter of law and fact, upon the acknowledged principles applicable to such But I have been from the beginning opposed to buying from Texas territory which already belongs to us. I have been, and always shall be, opposed to yielding to Texas one-half of the territory which belongs to the United States east of the Rio Grande, and then paying her the enormous sum of ten millions of dollars for abandoning a naked, worthless "claim"—"claim" is the word in the bill—to the other half. Our whole word in the bill—to the other half. Our whole progress has been downward from the beginning of the session. It has been marked by constantly enlarging concessions to the demands of Texas. The first proposition [Mr. Benton's] was, in my judgment, reasonable and fair, without pecuniary considerations on either side. The second [Mr. Clay's] was substantially the same. The third [the Committee's] conceded largely to Texas, besides offering her ten millions of dollars. The last [Mr. Pearce's] conceded still more, and made the same offer of money. And now the chairman of the Committee on Territories [Mr. Douglas] proposes still further to curtail the limits of New Mexico, diminished by all this mutilation. I think it wrong, and cannot vote for it.

think it wrong, and cannot vote for it.

Mr. Bradbury of Maine replied to Mr. Chase insisting that New Mexico did not extend below the 32d degree of north latitude, and that Texas was rightfully entitled to the country between 1030 west longitude and the western boundary line of the Indian territory of the United States, yielded to Texas by Mr. Pearce's bill. In support of the second of these positions, he said :

The honorable Senator will permit me to remind him of one fact, which would have no little The House then resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, and took up the Civil and Diplomatic bill.

REMARKS OF MR. CHASE,

Upon the Mutilation of the Territory of the United States east of the Rio Grande, and the Ten Millions Payment.

The Senate having under consideration the bill to establish a Territorial Government for New Mexco, Mr. Douglas offered an amendment, the effect of which was to exclude from the proposed Perritory all east of the Rio Grande north of 38° on the latitude to 103° west longitude, all east of the Rio Grande north of states and our own territory, and, if my recollection is correct, extended this line up to the Indian Territory. I apprehend that if we should undertake to claim the territory west of that line, Texas would hold up to us the treaty relating to this boundary and the proceedings under the treaty, to show that we, by our own acts, acknowledged the territory to belong to Texas.

Mr. Chase. The argument addressed to the Senate by the honorable Senator from Maine requires a very few words of reply. I have not

quently, by the decrees of the Congress of Mexico, the southern boundary of New Mexico was removed to a point higher up the Rio Grande. But the question in this discussion has never been between New Mexico and Texas. "New Mex-ico" has been referred to because, being an orico" has been referred to because, being an or-ganized Territory, and in danger of dismember-ment from the claims of Texas, its situation has necessarily been much considered. But, sir, the real question, so far as boundary is concerned, has always been between Texas and the United States. That question must be determined by the facts applicable to the law contained in two instruments. I refer to the annexation resolu instruments. I refer to the annexation resolu-tion and the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The Texas annexed under that resolution embraced only that "territory properly included within and rightfully belonging to the Republic of Texas at the date of annexation." That was the Republic of Texas annexed; that was the State of Texas admitted. The territory which that State admitted. The territory which that State may have come into the possession of between the date of annexation and the ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is subject to a class of considerations which I shall not now go into. But waiving that—for this discussion is not now re-ally in order—the question of boundary between the United States and Texas is to be det

by their respective possessions on the 20th of December, 1845, the date of admission. Now, sir, I apprehend that the title of Texas never went beyond her possession. That possession was undoubtedly coextensive with her limits as a Mexican State. Whatever she had added to that possession by conquest prior to annexation was hers also. Beyond that her title did not go And now I ask the honorable Senator from Maine if he says the possession of Texas, either original or acquired, ever went to the hundred and

Mr. Bradbury, (in his seat.) I will answer your question by and by.

Mr. Chase. The honorable Senator says he will answer by and by, and I shall be glad to hear his response.

The PRESIDENT. That is the correct course. Mr. Chase. I say that it never did; and the Senator from Missouri demonstrated the fact beyond all question. Then, sir, the territory west of that meridian and between that meridian and the Rio Grande belonged to the United States. Such I believe to be the judgment of the Senate. Could the sense of this body have been ascertained by a direct vote upon a resolution embodying this proposition, no one, it seems to me, can doubt what the result would be. Well, sir, all that territory between the 102d degree and the Rio Grande, and south of the committee? line, from a point twenty miles above El Paso to the southwestern angle of the Indian Territory, was surrendered to Texas by the Omnibus bill, was surrendered to Texas by the Omnibus bill, and that territory contained 70,000 square miles of land, according to the computation of the Senator from Missouri. All that territory has been surrendered by the bill of the Senator from Maryland, and thirty thousand square miles besides. It is true that his Texas boundary bill retained for the United States an angle of eight or ten thousand square miles which the committee's line. thousand square miles, which the committee's line surrendered to Texas. This makes the quantity actually given up by the bill of the Senator from Maryland about twenty thousand square miles. But the Senator from Maine [Mr. Bradbury]

NAY—Mesers. Atchison, Barawell, Berrien, Bullet, Cass, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Dick-lianon, Dodge of fown, Hunter, Mason, Morte, Manuella, and Mississippi, Dawson, Dick-lianon, Dodge of fown, Hunter, Mason, Morte, Manuella, and Mississippi, Dawson, Dick-lianon, Dodge of fown, Hunter, Mason, Morte, Manuella, and Mississippi, Dawson, Dick-lianon, Dodge of fown, Hunter, Mason, Morte, Manuella, Mississippi, Dawson, Dick-lianon, Dodge of fown, Hunter, Mason, Morte, Manuella, Mississippi, Dawson, Dick-lianon, Mississippi, Dawson, Dick-lianon, Mississippi, Dawson, Dick-lianon, Mississippi, Dawson, Dick-lianon, Mississippi, Dawson, Dodge of fown Mississippi, Dawson, Dawso

States, having agreed to that line as a boundar States, having agreed to that line as a boundary between our territory and Texas, are estopped from denying the title of Texas to the territory west of it. Now, I have before me the very treaty under which the boundary between Texas and the United States was run in 1838. It bears the signatures of John Forsyth and Memucan Hunt, and is dated the 25th of April, 1838. The actifications were exchanged on the 13th Oatcher. Hunt, and is dated the 25th of April, 1838. The ratifications were exchanged on the 13th October, 1838. It is "a Covention between the United States of America and the Republic of Texas, for marking a boundary between the United States of America and Texas." The first article provides "that each of the contracting parties shall appoint a commissioner and surveyor, who shall " proceed to run and mark that portion of said boundary which extends from the mouth of the Sabine, where that river enters the Gulf of Mexico, to the Red river."

To the Red river: There it ends. Well, sir.

Gulf of Mexico, to the Red river."

To the Red river: There it ends. Well, sir, this line does not touch the boundary between the Indian country and that extensive district called the Santa Fe country—so called upon the very map (Disturnell's) which the Senator from Maine now has before him—and always regarded as a part of New Mexico. It does not touch that boundary at all. It does not come within three hundred miles of it. It runs from the mouth of the Sabine to the Red river. Nothing more. It is clear, then, that there is nothing in this treaty, or in our action under it, which admits by any implication, however remote, any title in Texas implication, however remote, any title in Texas to the thirty thousand miles surrendered by the bill which has received the sanction of the Sen-

I do not wish to prolong this discussion. I do not see that anything which the Senator from Maine has said has shaken or touched any propo-

Mr. Winther commented on Mr. Chase's remarks. He expressed his surprise that the Senator from Ohio should regard the Texas boundary concession and payment as the main objection to the Omnibus bill, since that bill was open to to the Omnibus bill, since that bill was open to another very serious objection in the judgment of the People of Ohio. He also declared his approval of the Texas Boundary bill under the circumstances, believing, as he did, that the boundary of New Mexico must be made good by gold or by steel, and preferring, as he did, to have it marked in yellow rather than in red. He urged, also, that there were great considerations cred. also, that there were great considerations con-

nected with the settlement of this boundary, other than money.
Mr. Chase replied: Mr. President, the honorthan money.

Mr. Chase replied: Mr. President, the honorable Senator from Massachusetts [Mr.Wintheof] has adverted to my remarks in terms which require some answer. The honorable Senator has said that there was a question embraced in that series of measures called "the Omnibus bill," in which the State of Ohio had a deep interest, other than that of the boundary of Texas. It is true there was such a question. The people of Ohio believe, almost unanimously, I think, that it is the duty of Congress to prohibit the existence of slavery in the Territorios. And whenever that question is presented, I suppose the Senator from Massachusetts and myself will be found voting side by side. The Senator has said that I spoke of what seemed to be a change of position on the part of certain Senators, as a consequence of the advent of a new Administration. Every Senator doubtless determines for himself the course which he will pursue upon every measure which comes before us. I am not one of those who urge the argument post hoc, ergo, propter hoc. But I cannot help observing the course of events. And when I see one Administration, conducted upon certain principles, and pursuing a certain line of policy with regard to the Territorial and Texan questions, go out of power, and another Administration, of different views, come in; and then I observe what seems to be a change of position—

Mr. Wintheof. Will the honorable Senator has said that I specified in the Mr. Wintheof. Will the honorable Senator has said that I specified in the month of the month of the property with the property of the course of events. serve what seems to be a change of position — Mr. WINTHROP. Will the honorable Senator allow me to ask him what evidence there is of any change having occurred in the policy of the last and present Administrations?

Mr. Chase. I find evidence of a change of policy in the late message of the President, which satisfies my mind. But I shall enter into no discussion upon that.
I say, sir, that when Administrations change,

and gentlemen from whom a certain line of action was expected take a different course, harmonizing with the new yolicy, we are apt to think that the change of Administration may have had something to do with it. I do not say that it had. But, sir, the Senator has also said that considerations more vital than those connected with mere that meridian north of 36° 30°, which amendment Mr. Benton moved to amend, so as to confine the proposed Territorial Government to that part of New Mexico actually settled and occupied at the time of the cession, and not included within the boundary proposed to Texas.

Mr. Chase said:

It will be well enough, Mr. President, to look a little at the progress we say the said of the cession and the proposed was in correspondence with the senator from Maine requires a very few words of reply. I have not said, nor have I undertaken to say, where the exact boundaries of New Mexico are to be found. I believe, with the Senator from Missouri, [Mr. Benton for Missouri, [acres are involved in this Texan boundary questhe South have asserted, and Senators from the North have conceded, this. Thus, then, stands the case: The line originally proposed by the honorable Senator from Missouri, (and which the Senator from Missouri be sufficient of the Texan boundary bill but withdrew it) did retain as territory of the United States about one hundred thousand square miles which the Texan boundary bill surrendered to Texas.

Now, it seems to me that this states also Now, it seems to me that this makes a dif-ference in the character of the two measures; and if it be true, as has been asserted upon one side of the chamber without contradiction upon the other, that every square mile retained by the Uni-

ted States was gained to freedom, while every square mile surrendered to Texas was conceded slavery ---Mr. Cass. Will the honorable Senator allow me to state to him that he is in error? The stateent which he makes has been denied on this floor by myselfand others. You know, Mr. President, and every Senator that has looked at the question knows—and I am sure the Senator from Ohio will cuncur in it when he examines the subject — that whether this territory belonged to Texas or to the United States, it will be slave territory, or free territory, just as the inhabitants who may occupy it may decide. The question of slave soil or free soil no more bears upon the question than it does upon the moon. It leaves the people of the Territory to decide whether it shall be a slave or a free State.

Mr. CHASE. Mr. President -The PRESIDENT. The Chair feels bound to interfere. The debate now going on has nothing to do with the subject before the Senate. Mr. Chase. I have very little more to say. I

Mr. WINTHROP. I only desire to say that, under the ruling of the Chair, I must submit, as well as the Senator from Ohio. There were one or two points of fact on which I desired to correct him; but I must also yield.

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7. Correspondence and Itingrary of Charles V—Ib.

8. Chinese Description of the Earth.—Watchman and Reflector.

Reflector.

9. Death of the President — New York Courier.

10. Washington and the Principles of the Revolu Washington and the Principles of the Revolution.—
 P. Whipple.
 Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence.—Albany Evening Journal.

With Poetry and Short Articles. WASHINGTON, December 27, 1845. Of all the Periodical Journals devoted to literature and science, which abound in Europe and in this country, this has appeared to me to be the most useful. It contains indeed the exposition only of the current literature of the English language; but this, by its immense extent and comprehension, includes a portraiture of the human mind in

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OR. THE PEN, THE PULPIT, AND THE PRESS-Containing Fourteen Discourses, delivered in Cincinnati, between January 13 and April 21, 1850: By

[CONTINUED PROM FIRST PAGE.]
fornia a pack-horse, to be loaded down with whatever burden his allies may choose to place upon her back. he would make her pay dearly for having incorporated into her Constitution that thing so hateful to him, the Proviso of Freedom. He (Mr. W.) was for California, separate from all other questions. He believed it due to that State, due to curselves, and, above all, required by the voice of a vast majority of the freemen from whom we profess to speak and act.

What, Mr. Chairman, is the spectacle presented here? After having acquired all the slave territory upon the continent—after having annexed Texas in hot haste, and at the hazard of the war which followed that act; now, sir, the free

war which followed that act; now, sir, the free State of California, with a voting population larger than that of one half of the slave States—larger than that of one half of the slave States—larger than Florida, larger than Arkansas, larger than Texas, larger, in my judgment, than either Mis-sissippi or Louisiana—this free State is denied admission into the Union, only because she is free. Yes, sir, her only ofence is, that she has prohib-ited slavery within her borders. Those who now ask that action shall be had upon this subject, are denounced as men who desire to keep up a "miserable excitement" in the public mind. The gentleman from illinois [Mr. McClerrand] may, in his conception of things, regard it as a misera ble vocation, for men to contend earnestly, seriously, manfully, for the advance of Freedom, for the ly, manfully, for the advance of Precaus, regard triumph of truth. The gentleman may regard those efforts only as noble and praiseworthy, which are put forth in the cause of slavery propsm, and which are rewarded with the of slaveholders and the prospect of office. A "miserable agitation" indeed! to stand up here and battle against the selfishness of the day, to ome truths in the ears of lordly ters, to expose the schemes of unchastened ambition, to labor earnestly to bring back this Government to the policy of its founders, to insist that the policy of Jefferson, and the fathers of the Republic, should be applied to the Territories of

He (Mr. W.) could tell the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McClernand] how this agitation, which he so much deprecates, might have been avoided. Had Representatives faithfully carried out the will of their constituents, the question of slavery in our Territories would have been settled three years ago, by the extension to them of that pro-vision of the Ordinance of 1787 which prohibits slavery except for crime. Of this there can be no

He (Mr. W.) has said before, and he repeated now, that when the Proviso was first introduced, there were but two Northern votes against it in this House. One was that of the gentleman from Illi-nois, and the other that of his then colleague, now a member of the Senate, [Mr. Douglas] That provision, which the gentleman has learned from his Southern allies to denounce as most infamous, not only received the approval of the Representa-tives from the free States, but the unanimous and syntaneous approval of the people throughout every free State in this Union. The people by every form of expression endorsed it. Legisla-tures by unanimous resolutions endorsed it. Had the public voice then been faithfully obeyed in this and the other wing of the Capitol, all that excitament and agitation about which the gentleexoitement and agitation about which the gentle-man declaims with such genuine Southern feeling, would have been avoided. The question would have been settled without agitation, without excitement; and, in my judgment, without leaving behind any very serious heart-burnings upon the feelings of our Southern friends. True, sir, they might have been ignorant of the merits of their guished champion, the gentleman from Illi-The country might have never known that om one of such broad, such comprehensive, such exalted patriotism. This, he (Mr. W.) confessed, would have been a serious loss to the country, and a great personal sacrifice to the gentleman from Illinois; but one which, he trusted, would have been cheerfully made, to avoid that agitation which so alarms and disturbs the

gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, it has become quite common for certain gentlemen, distinguished alike for their patriotism and modesty, to claim for themselves that they stand upon a broad and national platform; and to denounce all who do not take position with them as marrow-minded, sectional, and tion with them, as narrow-minded, sectional, and tion with them, as narrow-minded, sectional, and fanatical. Is slavery national, and freedom sectional? He (Mr. W.) had been taught by the fathers of the republican school, that freedom was broad and national, and slavery local and sectional. For this great doctrine he had struggled here, and for this he should continue to struggle, with all the feeble powers God had given him. This great doctrine of the universality of freelom, as one the inalienable rights of man, and of the local character of slavery, as a State and sec-tional institution, constituted, in the early days of the Republic, an established article in the repubthe Republic, an established article in the republican creed. Hence, the efforts of Jefferson to circumscribe the limits of slavery—efforts gloriously successful in the establishment of the Ordinance of 1787—by which freedom was secured to the State which the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McClerkannd] in part represents. But for this Ordinance, which the gentleman now denounthis Ordinance, which the gentleman now denounces as infamous, the curse of slavery would have rested like an incubus upon his own State. It would have gone there in defiance of the Ordinance, had Illinois, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, been blessed, or cursed, (her people will judge which), with a superabundance of that broad and comprehensive patriotism of which the gentleman boasts. Instead of that free labor, which is fast giving to Illinois prosperity and greatness, the negro slave would have loitered in idleness upon her fertile fields, or been driven by the lash to his thriftless and unwilling toil.

He (Mr. W.) had followed in the footsteps Jefferson; he had travelled in the beaten tracks of the fathers of the republican party. His efforts had been to circumscribe slavery within State limits—not to interfere with it there, but to resist its spread over the free Territories of the nation—to relieve the General Government from all responsibility for its existence or support, leaving it to rest, where alone it should rest, upon State sovereingty and State laws.

This question of slavery extension is a great pecuniary question—a question of capital—of money. The immense capital invested in slaves, as effectually controls this Government as does the capital invested in the funded debt of Great Britain control that. The old proverb, that "money rules the world," is as true in political again, and the state of as in social affairs. The money invested in slave wields the destinies of this boasted free Republic Presidents, and dispenses its was patronage; it proscribes its enemies, and exalts its friends. So far as legislation and all the machinery of Gov. ernment is concerned, it in truth and fact con-stitutes the Republic itself. Well-informed Southern men in this and in the other branch of Congress have estimated the amount of mone invested in slaves at sixteen hundred millions of dollars. He thought the estimate a large one dollars. He thought the estimate a large one, but that the sum is large almost beyond computation, is certain. This vast money power, extending over half of the Confederacy, and binding together in the bonds of a common pecuniary interest half the States, dictates law to this Republic, and rules with a despotism unrelenting as death. As a Democrat, he had ever been opposed to great moneyed interests. The instincts of money are the same the world over—the same here as in are the same the world over—the same here as in the most grinding despotism of Europe. Money is cold, selfish, heartless. It has no pulse of hu-manity, no feelings of pity or of love. Interest, gain, accumulation, are the sole instincts of its gain, accumulation, are the sole instincts of its nature; and it is the same, whether invested in manufacturing stock, bank stock, or the black stock of the South. Intent on its own interest, it is utterly regardless of the rights of humanity. It would coin dividends out of the destruction of souls. Here, then, air, we have sixteen hundred millions of capital—heartless, unfeeling capital, intent on its own pecuniary advancement. It is here, sir, in these halls, in desperate conflict with the rights of humanity and of free labor. It is struggling to clutch in its iron grasp the soil of the country—that soil which is man's inheritance, and which of right should belong to him who labors upon it. Sixteen hundred millions of dellars demands the soil of our territories in perpetuity, for its human chattels—to drive back the petuity, for its human chattels—to drive back the free laborer from his rightful field of enterprise— from his lawful and God-given inheritance. Sla-very must have a wider field, or the money value of flesh and blood will deteriorate. Additional security and strength must be given to the holders of human stock. What though humanity should shrick and wail? Money is insatiate—capital is deaf to the voice of its pleadings. oppose the extension of slavery—to resist in the councils of the nation the demands of this huge money power—to advocate the rights of hum-ity and of free labor, is, in the estimation of a gentleman from Illinois, to be sectional and natical. gentleman from Illinois, to be sectional, and fanatical. To bow down to this money power—to to do its bidding—to be its instrument and its tool—is doubtless, in the esteem of the gentleman, to stand upon a "broad and national platform." Freedom and humanity, truth and justice, is a platform too narrow for his enlarged and comprehensive mind—the universality of slavery can alone fill its capacious powers. Slavery is Democratic—freedom fanatical! Sir, the gentleman no doubt sees fanaticism in a bold and fearless advecacy of the right. With some minds, nothing is rational and practical, except that which pays well. That slavery has heretore paid well to those who labt. ed in its service, he (Mr. W.) was prepared to believe. The history of this Government proves this. Its bills, however, have been at a discount since the Presidency

yet find himself in a fanatical position, expend-ing his great powers, without adequate reward. He (Mr. W.) was educated in the republican He (Mr. W.) was educated in the republican school. All his opinions upon political questions were strongly tinctured with the doctrines of that school. Nowhere in the teachings of the "fathers" had he found it laid down, that Democracy consisted in wearing the collar of slavery about his neck—in bowing down to a heartless money aristocracy—in supporting the extension of slavery over the Continent. Such may be the doctrines of the gentleman from Illinois. He may best subserve his political ends, by standing shoulder to shoulder with the advocates of Slavery-Extension. He may esteem that man a demogogue who boldly He may esteem that man a demagogue who boldly stands up in the face of power, in defiance of all opposition, the advocate of truth, the inflexible supporter of principle. There are demagogues, however, who succumb to power; who flatter the strong, and deride the weak; who are always found in support of that policy best calculated to advance their interests; who are ready to change opinions with a change of dynasty; and who ever believe, controlling interest. The Slave Power has so long held ascendency in this Government, that certain gentlemen seem to think that their political fortunes are secure, only when they stand political fortunes are secure, only when they stand in close alliance with slavery. They lean upon it for support; they look to it for promotion; they tremble and turn pale at its frowns. Many fear to stand on the rock of Truth, unsupported save by a consciousness of rectitude and duty, who, sensible of their weakness, lean with their whole weight upon the strong arm of some great interest

Mr. Chairman, (he continued,) I am charged by the gentleman from Illinois with practicing the arts of the demagogue—with keeping alive a "miserable excitement," to secure by own elevation to office. When have I been found at the footstool of power? When have I addressed myself to propitiate its smiles or its favor? When have I abandoned principle, and taken when have I abandoned principle, and taken refuge in the arms of any great moneyed interest for succor and protection? When have I proved false to my professions, or my pledges? Who is my accuser? No, sir, no; I have kept the faith; I have redeemed the solemn pledges given to a generous constituency—a constituency, sir, that have stood around me, and sustained me, with a devotion and constancy of which any man, the greatest in this nation, might well be proud; and, greatest in this nation, might well be product and, sir, I would sooner stand against the assaults of a thousand such as the gentleman from Illinois, than disappoint the just expectations of the humblest man who gave me his confidence and support. Does the gentleman from Illinois know anything about the district from which I come? Has he ever informed himself as to the character and political principles of those I represent? For his information I will tell him, that it is one of the strongest Democratic districts in the State of Pennsylvania. If by Abolitionists he means a class of persons who assail the Constitution, and seek the overthrow of slavery by violent or unlawful means, then, sir, there are no Abolitionists in my district. If by Abolitionists, the genteman intends to be understood all such as are opposed to the extension of slavery, then, sir, we are all Abolitionists together. It is the most radical, thorough, inflexible Democratic district in the State; and has ever been true to the mainthe State; and has ever been true to the maintenance of the great cardinal principles of the Republican party—opposed to a high protective tariff, to a national bank, to extravagant schemes of internal improvement by the General Government, to a distribution of the proceeds of the public lands; and in favor of the independent treasury, and of every other measure with which the Republican party has been identified for the last twenty years. Nay, more: it took the lead in Pennsylvania in support of many of these great questions. The Democracy of my district advocated the independent treasury, and a more liberal revenue policy, before either of those great measures had commended themselves to popular favor with the party in that State. I was with them then, I am with them now. It is a part of their faith, and a part which will not be compromised or surrendered, that slavery ought not to be extended over the free soil of this continent. They embrace this great principle as a not to be extended over the free soil of this continent. They embrace this great principle as a part of their creed; and they will stand by it to the last, against all temptation, and in the face of all opposition. They will adhere to their principles; they will make them the guide of their action, the rule of their conduct. They will follow no organization that has for its object the prostration of their principles. The gentleman from Illinois would read them out of the party. When they are excluded from the Democratic party, it will be past hope in Pennsylvania. That State will then have taken its position permanently in the ranks of the opposition. But I do not believe that they will allow the gentleman from Illinois to excommunicate them from the unicate them from the Democratic party; nor will the denunciations of the entire South movethem one jot or tittle from their principles.

I have said, Mr. Chairman, in my judgmen

this whole controversy would have been settled without agitation, and without this protracted struggle, which some gentlemen profess to think endangers the stability of the Union, had the Representatives from the North faithfully carried Representatives from the North faithfully carried out the will of their constituents. I do not intend this remark as a reflection upon the gentleman from Illinois. His district, for aught I know, may be as pro-slavery as himself. It is not my purpose, Mr. Chairman, to reflect upon the motives or conduct of any gentleman in this House. It would be out of order for me to do so; yet I can-not but feel, that the true way to settle existing controversies is not by patched-up compromis which ought to have, and can have, no force made against the public sentiment of the country.

The principles upon which this controversy should be settled are the same as those upon which all great political questions should be settled in a Government like our own—by an honest and faithful representation on this floor, and in the other branch of Congress, of the voice of our respective constituencies. Let every man vote as his constituents desire him to vote—as it was understood he would vote when a candidate for an election to a seat in this Hall—then, sir, you would have expressed the voice of the country. would have expressed the voice of the country.

A settlement upon such a basis would stand—
would command respect. It would be in harmony
with the spirit and genius of our institutions.
Upon this basis alone ought all great questions to
be settled; and had it been faithfully acted upon,
the present controversy would never have had an
existence. The question of slavery in our Territories would have been low since settled. settled on the side of Freedom. But it would seem that a different atmosphere prevails here from that which gentlemen breathe at home. We have here political combinations looking to the Presidency, and to the patronage dispensed from that high office. Men become the mere partisans of Presidential aspirants, instead of the faithful representatives of the People. Party interests and party success exert a controlling influence over the deliberations of Congress. It is but a short time since, when the Representatives from the North, who occupy seats on the other side of this House, were, to a man, the advocates of positive legislative prohibition against the extension of slavery. Ay! sir, it was an "old principle of the Whig party! A devoutly-cherished doctrine! They had always opposed the controlling influence of slavery in the Government! The Democracy had always courted and succumbed to the Slave Power." Such, but a short time ago, was the universal language of Northern Whigs, was the universal language of Northern Whigs, in and out of this House. I well remember with what alacrity and zeal they walked up to the

coveries in "physical geography" adopted by the faithful. We shall see, sir, what we shall see. Whatever course gentlemen may adopt, one thing is certain, that a large majority took their seats in the present Congress, pledged to the support of the Proviso. This fact is known to those who hear me, and to the whole country. It will stand in history, and the shameful record will also be written, that some were faithless to those pledges—that they sacrificed principle and honor, to of the Proviso. This fact is known to those who hear me, and to the whole country. It will stand in history, and the shameful record will also be written, that some were faithless to those pledges—that they sacrificed principle and honor, to proplitate power. There are not three men from the free States, on the opposite side of the House, who, when elected, were not understood by their censtituents to be in favor of legislative action against the extension of elevery. The same is censtituents to be in favor of legislative action against the extension of slavery. The same is true of a large majority of the Democrats. I know of some who gave their solemn pledges in writing, to stand by the principle to the last, and against all compromises, who have publicly declared their purpose to abandon it. This, sir, is shameful; yet it is by such treachery as this, that slavery is to gain a triumph. If the Ordinance of freedom is to be thus defeated, it is not by the voice of the records, it is defeated by the heteroyal of freedom is to be thus defeated, it is not by the voice of the people; it is defeated by the betrayal of their representatives. And is such a betrayal of high trusts to be dignified with the name of "compromise?" Do gentlemen expect such a settlement to stand? Is this the way in which peace is to be restored to the country? Are the people to be cheated, and then called upon to thank as public benefactors those who defrauded them? A distinguished Senator—he again who "treads no step backward"—in a recent speech labored eardistinguished Sensior—he again who "treads no step backward"—in a recent speech, labored car-nestly to prove that it was the duty of a repre-sentative to violate his instructions, to disregard the wishes of his constituents whenever, in his opinion, the public weal would be promoted there-by. He contended that the faithful representa-

who faithfully and honestly, by his speech and votes, carried out in these Halls the views of his constituents—was a slave himself, and that a pro-viso was needed to free such a one from bondage. Sir, neither great talents, nor exalted position, can sanctify such doctrines. They strike at the can sanctify such doctrines. They strike at the foundations of our system of Government. They are anti-republican, anti American. The Senator himself gave us a shameful example of their mischievous influence, when he turned his back upon the unanimous instructions of his own State. I subscribe to no such sentiments. I tolerate no such doctrines in politics or in mobals. I can resuch doctrines, in politics or in morals. I can respect, nay more, I can applaud the man who votes for slavery, when I believe he is fairly reflecting the principles and feelings of those he represents; but I have only loathing and contempt for him who, by false professions, obtains a high place, and then betrays the confidence reposed in him. Mr. Chairman, I do not desire agitation; but I

Mr. Chairman, I do not desire agitation; but I cannot consent to avoid it, by a tame and silent submission to wrong. I will not see, without a struggle to avert it, this Government, established by the price of blood, upon the great foundations of Freedom, subverted to the accursed purpose of the extension of slavery. Its power shall never be wielded to such ends, if by any humble efforts of mine I can prevent it. So long as there can be found such men in the North, as the gentleman from Illinois to stand here and do the work of rom Illinois, to stand here and do the work of slavery, so long there will be agitation—an agita-tion that, by-and-by, will reach the constituents of the gentleman, and light up the fires of Truth and Freedom in his district. When that day comes, as it surely will come, we shall hear no more of the gentleman from Illinois, and the like

A great truth cannot be trampled in the dusta great principle of right cannot be broken down. Freedom will live—truth and justice will live live in the hearts of men-live in the attribute of God-live forever.

This Government is not a government of slavery, but of freedom. We hold that slavery is not a national institution—that it should be kept within the limits of the States where it is tolera ted; and these are doctrines which no pretended compromise can crush-no political combinati put down.

In the last Presidential contest, the South brought to bear the influence of this sixteen hundred millions of slave property. She declared that no man should receive her support for the that no man should receive her support for the Presidency who did not bow down in abject and slavish submission to this mighty power of the South. Northern aspirants for that high office humbled themselves in the dust, but they failed of the reward. The price of shame and of humilation was not paid, and I trust in God that it never will be paid. The ambitious and aspiring must learn that they cannot reach the Presidency by a base bowing down to the power of slavery. This lesson it is the duty of the people to teach them son it is the duty of the people to teach them. This is the only remedy for doughfaceism—it is a sure and certain cure : it is a constitutional. peaceful remedy—the remedy of the ballot-box. I shall not fear to resort to it, whenever occasion

requires its application.
Mr. COBB, of Alabama, (Mr. Wilmot yielding the floor.) I wish to ask the gentleman if he would vote for any man for the office of President who was the owner of slaves. Mr. WILMOT. Certainly sir-most chee

Mr. WILMOT. Certainly sir—most cheerfully, if he agreed with me in principle. I make principle the guide of my political action. Principle, and principle alone, controls my votes; not the location of candidates, or the nature of the property they may hold. Mr. COBB. Would the gentleman own a slave

Mr. WILMOT. I have no wish to be the owner of one. God forbid that I should ever be placed er or one. God foroid that I should ever be placed in circumstances where my interests or convenience should tempt me to become the owner of one. Upon this subject I confess that my moral sensibilities are not as keenly alive to the wrongs of slavery as they ought to be. I am not so good a man as I wish I was. I wish that I could feel for the wrongs of others as keenly as I feel a wrong when inflicted upon myself. I make no pretension to any such exalted virtue. Gentlemen who have done me the honor to listen to my speeches upon this subject, will remember that I have never discussed this question in its moral aspects. That task I have left to others, better able to do it justice. I have examined it as a political ques-tion—as a question affecting the rights of the people, and the policy and character of the Gov-ernment. Apart from all moral considerations, I am opposed to the further extension of slavery as a political evil of the first magnitude. Slavery is anti-republican—it is aristocratic in all its ten dencies and results—it is subversive of those grea principles which lay at the foundation of all free Governments. It is a great moneyed interest— a vast pecuniary capital, with the heartless ina vast pecuniary capital, with the heartless instincts of capital, and I am deadly hostile to the control of capital in this Government. It is in theory, and should be in practice, a Government of the people. It belongs to the free masses of the country. It is theirs to enjoy, to defend. They have a right to mould it to their pleasure, to determine its policy, to direct it to the advancement of their horizons and reconsists. termine its policy, to direct it to the advancement of their happiness and prosperity. Slavery seeks to wield it to its own selfish ends—to the support and perpetuation of its vast capital in human flesh and blood. I oppose the extension of slavery, be-cause it is an element of weakness in States. I speak with no feelings of unkindness towards the South, but I utter my earnest convictions when I say, that the South is weak—weak in all the ele-ments of strength and greatness—weak to resist ments of strength and greatness—weak in all the ele-ments of strength and greatness—weak to resist a foreign foe, and only weak because of the insti-tution of slavery. It is the men who perform the labor of a country that must defend it in the hour of danger. The men who perform the labor of the South are slaves. You dare not place the means of defence in their hands. You dare not give them arms, and teach them their use, lest

be compelled, by the force of natural laws, to commence the work of emancipation, unless that day is put off by the opening of new fields for slave labor. Sir, I would not obstruct the operation of God's laws. I certainly would not interfere to save slavery from their influence. Looking, as I do, to the day of our ultimate redemption from this curse, I wish it to come before the evil shall have error. this curse, I wish it to come before the evil shall have grown to such giant proportions as to defy our efforts for a peaceful deliverance. I do not wish the evil to grow beyond our control. We might, by a mighty effort, solve peacefully, and without blood, the problem of slavery, with ten millions of blacks. No human power can solve it with fifty or a hundred millions. It would break in fragments the strongest Government on earth; it would produce scenes of commotion, strife, and blood, such as the world never saw. Why will blood, such as the world never saw. blood, such as the world never saw. Why will gentlemen bring certain and wide-spread ruin upon the country? It is the spirit of self-ishness that invokes this destruction upon our land—the selfishness of great interests, the selfishness of capital, blind to everything but its immediate and proximate interest. For resistance to this spirit of selfishness for selfishness to this spirit of selfishness, for seeking to avert from my country this terrible doom, I am assailed by the gentleman from Illinois, in borrowed wit and studied denunciation.

and studied denunciation.

Mr. Chairman, talk as gentlemen may, there is a settled and fixed determination on the part of the people in the free States to resist, by every lawful and constitutional means, the extension of slavery. They may be betrayed by their representatives— I fear they will be; they may, for a time, be mis-led by those in whom they have placed confi-dence—party leaders may lick the dust at the bid-ding of slavery, may kiss its bloody hands—party organization may be used to crush the advocates of liberty—yet, sir, the great heart of the people beats for freedom. Gentlemen will learn that a cheat is no settlement—that a betrayal of trust is no adjustment of difficulties—that the arrangements of Presidential aspirants is no compromise Agitation is not to be quieted by the perpetration of wrong. The friends of freedom will counsel no resistance to established law; but they will not cease to appeal to the judgments and the hearts of men, in behalf of righteousness and truth. Gentlemen want peace, quiet. Cease to urge a wrong, and you will have a peace. What is the quiet they want? Freedom from agitation on the subject of slavery. I will tell gentlemen how they can have quiet on this subject: Separate the General Government from all responsibility for the existence or support of slavery. Keep your institutions within your States, and you will have no agitation. Cease to exert the tyranny of slavery in this Government—immolate no more Northern men. You provoke agitation by the injustice of your demands. You declare your purpose to extend slavery into free territory and oose to extend slavery into free territory, and when we offer resistance, when we demand for freedom the protection and security of law, you cry out against agitation. You ask us to reverse the policy of the Government in behalf of slavery and its interests, and because we refuse, you com plain of injustice and wrong. We are struggling to maintain, against your encroachments, the early and settled policy of the Government. I stand upon this question of slavery extension, where Jefferson, and Madison, and Henry, stood sixty years ago. Were they now living, they would advocate the policy I have advocated. They did so, in their day and generation. They would

It is the vast increase of this slave capital which has taken place in the last half century, that creates all our present difficulties. From two hundred millions of dollars it has grown to sixteen hundred millions. This immense capital is struggling for perpetuity and power. It wishes to make slavery eternal. This is your fanaticism, contemps of the South, the fancticism of the gentlemen of the South-the fanaticism of slavery-of sixteen hundred millions of dollars! It is a cold, calculating fanaticism. It feeds on the souls and blood of men. Talk to me about fanaticism! May God preserve me from the fanaticism of slavery—from that fanaticism which forgets humanity and its rights, in the pursuit of an all-absorbing selfishne all-absorbing selfishness.

Mr. Chairman, I have been led almost uncon-

sciously into these protracted remarks. I con-templated but a few words when I arose. My object more particularly was to address myself to the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. McClernand,] and to repel the charge brought by him against and to repel the charge brought by him against the friends of freedom, of a desire to defeat the appropriation bills. They have never entertained such a thought. They are loyal to the Constitution and to the Government of their country—loyal, sir, and true. They desire action on California—that great question, which, more than any other, engrosses the mind of the nation. It is a shape—a personal dishopoor to Northern is a shape—a personal dishopoor to Northern is a shame—a personal dishonor to Northern men—that California is not yet admitted into the Union. Why this protracted delay? Why this continual postponement of a measure which they all profess to favor? Are gentlemen afraid to act? Are we cowards, that we dare not perform our constitutional duty? Do we fear to take hold of the work which we came here to do? Sir, let us have done with this timid, this cowardly

policy. Let us act. There is honor and safety in action—dishonor and danger in further delay. The gertleman from Illinois is waiting the action of the Senate on the "Omnibus bill." After for giving time for slavery to mature its plans. When slavery is in danger, the gentleman is ever ready and prompt in action. No measure of slavery was ever delayed an hour for want of the gentleman's aid. Freedom must stand back, and only enter these Halls in the manner and at the hour slavery shall dictate.

I wish that the vote of to-day should arrest the attention of the country. Let it be known throughout the length and breadth of the land, that the consideration of California was postponed, to make way for an appropriation bill for the support of the Military Academy at West Point—a bill which there was no occasion for pressing upon our attention, and which could have been acted upon a fortnight or a month have been acted upon a fortnight or a month hence, without any detriment to the public ser-vice. This was done by the votes of the South, united with the great body of Northern Whigs, and a few Northern Democrats. California post-poned, after eight months' delay, by the strong vote of ninety-three to sixty! Yet, in the face of this vote, men will go home and try to make their the early and unconditional admission of Cali-

DEBATE ON THE "HIGHER POWER."

In the Senate of the United States, July 26, 1850.

Mr. Pratt. I desire to say a word, sir, as to what I conceive to be the most extraordinary proposition ever submitted to this body. I apprehend that such a proposition would not have emanated from any other source than that from which it has come. I feel confident that when the yeas and nays are taken, as I intend to move before I take my seat that they shall be, the Senator from New York in his seat.) I object.

Mr. Pratt (in his seat.) The have been contained by the seat of the request that I have to make cannot be complied with. I meant merely to ask the Senator from New York whether it would not be better for him to withdraw his proposition.

Mr. Clay (in his seat.) I object.

Mr. Pratt (in his seat.) The have been contained whether the yeas and nays are ordered.

Mr. Dayron. After the yeas and nays are ordered, the request that I have to make cannot be complied with. I meant merely to ask the Senator from New York whether it would not be better for him to withdraw his proposition.

Mr. Clay (in his seat.) The have been contained whether the yeas and nays are ordered.

Mr. Dayron. After the yeas and nays are ordered.

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The yeas and nays were then ordered.

The yeas and nays were then ordered.

Mr. Dayron. After the yeas and nays are ordered.

The yeas and nays were then ordered.

The yeas and nays are ordered. was the universal language of Northern While, was the conversal language of Northern While and the defence in their hands. You dany e taken, mid all stand gloss; because I am what allocity and seal they walked up to the northern what allocity and seal they walked up to the northern what allocity and seal they walked up to the northern what allocity and seal they walked up to the northern what allocity and seal they walked up to the northern was allocated and the proper seal that they shall be, the Seantor From New has not to see that a great change has come over the leaders of that party; and the representatives of that party on this force, and the representatives of that party on this force, and the representatives of the party on this force, and the representatives of the party on the force of the party of the

dent, what every man knows he has said. I have heard him say it over and over again; and the Senator's denial does not make untrue what I sert I have heard him say, that there was a higher law.

Mr. SEWARD (in his seat.) I do not deny that Mr. Seward (in his seat.) I do not deny that.
Mr. Pratt. I call upon every Senator who
hears me to say whether the Senator from New
York did not say there was a higher law; a
higher law than the Constitution, which he felt
bound to obey when it came in conflict with the

Mr. SEWARD (in his seat.) I did not. Mr. Pratt. I call upon any Senator upon this cor, other than the Senator from New York, to deny that he said so.
Mr. BALDWIN. As the appeal has been mad

to other Senators, I must say, simply, that I did not understand the sentiment uttered by the Sen-ator from New York as it has been stated by the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. Foote (in his seat.) Everybody else did. Mr. Pratt. I do not know what the Senator from Connecticut means by this disavowal. If he means that my commentary upon what the Senameans that my commentary upon what the Sena-tor has said is not exactly correct, that may be so. But that Senator cannot deny that he heard the Senator from New York say there was a higher law than the Constitution, which he felt bound to obey when it came in conflict with the Con-

stitution. Mr. Baldwin. I happen not to have a copy of he speech of the Senator from New York here, and I cannot of course be expected to give the pre-cise words. I understood the Senator to state that there was a higher law than the Constitution, which was in harmony with the provisions of the

Mr. PRATT. Now, Mr. President, it will be in Mr. Pratt. Now, Mr. President, it will be in the recollection of every one who hears me, that in the second speech which was made by the Senator from New York—one which displays all that preparation which I think every Senator should give to everything they are about to utter in this body—which, if it had been displayed in a better cause, would have been worthy of his country—he retterated the sentiment contained in his first speech, and then uttered the sentiment I have stated, that there were two antagonist principles ingrafted originally in the Constitution, and those two antagonist principles were the alleged equalingrated originally in the Constitution, and those two antagonist principles were the alleged equality of man and the principle of domestic slavery—the recognition of domestic slavery.

Now, Mr. President, he avowed further, and I

hink that every one here will agree with me, tha whenever these antagonist principles of which he was speaking came in conflict with the Constitution, the higher law would be obeyed by him in preference to the Constitution itself. I have spoken of this matter to all the friends of that spoken of this matter to all the friends of that Senator, and this is the first time I ever heard any one say he understood him differently from what I have stated. I have mentioned it to them with the announcement of the intention on my part to move the expulsion of that Senator as a member of this body. I have stated that when that Senator took his seat here, he was bound, as we were, to comply with that article of the Constitution which says that Senators, before they take their seats, shall swear to support the Constitution. I have said to them that if, when he came to the book to take that oath, if he had re-fused to take the oath, he could not have taken his seat; or if he had promulgated to the Senate the reservation which he now makes or has hiththe reservation which he now makes or has hither to made, with reference to this superior law, so so to make invalid that oath, there is not a Senator that would have permitted him to take it. Therefore, sir, if he had not concealed his understanding of the obligations which he was about to take upon himself, he would not have been permitted to take his seat here. I contended for this with his friends, and none of them said I was wrong in the facts. I contended that with these opinions we ought to turn him out of the body, as opinions we ought to turn him out of the body, as he never should have taken a seat here.

Mr. President, I now come to the amendment which is this: Insert after the word "That," in the first line,

the following:
"New Mexico shall, on proclamation by the President of the United States, be admitted as a State into this Union, on an equal footing with the original States. Provided, That the President, that the Constitution recently framed by the Convention of New Mexico has been approved and ratified by the people of New Mexico in the election held for the purpose of considering it, on the 20th June last." Here, then, sir, is a proposition that Congress should admit New Mexico as a State into this

Union with a Constitution which Congress has never seen, establishing boundaries not known to the Senate or to any one else; that we should direct the President of the United States to proclaim the admission of New Mexico as a State, with whatever boundaries she may choose to assume, even if they include half or two-thirds of Texas, even if they include half or two-thirds of Texas, and whether that Constitution is republican in its form or not, provided he shall believe that the people of New Mexico are willing. Therefore, if they have established a Government not republican in its form—a kingly Government—the provision of the Constitution which says that we shall admit no State which is not republican in its form, or if hy its boundaries it includes a part of Texas, that provision of the Constitution which prohibits separating from the limits of any State, without the assent of that State, are to be disrewithout the assent of that State, are to be disre without the assent of that State, are to be disregarded, and New Mexico is still to be admitted as a State by proclamation, although she does segregate parts of other States without the assent of those States, and although her Constitution may not be in a republican form. Am I not right, then, in saying that no one—except the Senator from New York—entertaining his opinions, could submit a proposition like this? Am I not right in saying that there is no Senator upon this floor—and I ask the yeas and nays to see if there is any

in saying that there is no Senator upon this floor—and I ask the yeas and nays to see if there is any one—who will vote for an amendment directly violative of these two clauses of the Constitution to which I have referred?

Mr. President, I have desired upon all occasions, and I am sure that it is still my determination, to cultivate toward my brother Senators feelings of harmony and respect, so far as I am capable of entertaining them. I will not say—I will not pretend to say—that such feelings can be entertained by me with reference to such a proposition as this, or to the member of the Senproposition as this, or to the member of the Sen-ate who made it. Mr. Dayron. Mr. President—

THE PRESIDENT. Did the Senator from Mary land ask for the yeas and nays? Mr. Pratt. Yes, sir. Mr. Dayton. Mr. President, I have a reques

THE PRESIDENT. The Senator will suspend until it is ascertained whether the yeas and nays are

ever made, any measure I have ever proposed, which I am willing to stand by here, before the country and the world, it is the proposition I have now submitted. Therefore, though I stand alone, I shall be content, convinced that I stand right. right.

I do not propose to reply to what is personal to myself in the remarks of the honorable Senator from Maryland. I have nothing of a personal character to say. There is no man in this land who is of sufficient importance to this country and to mankind to justify his consumption of five minutes of the time of the Senate of the United

minutes of the time of the Senate of the United States, with personal explanations relating to himself. When the Senator made his remarks, I rose to express to him the fact that he was under a misapprehension. The speeches which I have made here, under a rule of the Senate, are recorded, and what is recorded has gone before the People, and will go, worthy or not, into history. I leave them to mankind. I stand by what I have said. That is all I have to say upon that subject them to mankind. I stand by what I have been that is all I have to say upon that subject.

The Senator proposes to expel me. I am ready to meet that trial too; and if I shall be expelled, I to meet that trial too; and if I shall be expelled, I man subjected to punishment

The Senator proposes to expel me. I am ready to meet that trial too; and if I shall be expelled, I shall not be the first man subjected to punishment for maintaining that there is a power higher than human law, and that power delights in justice; that rulers, whether despots or elected rulers of a free people, are bound to administer justice for the benefit of society. Senators, when they please to bring me for trial, or otherwise, before the Senate of the United States, will find a clear and open field. I ask no other defence than the speeches upon which they propose to condemn me. The speeches will read for themselves, and they will need no comment from me.

Mr. President, the objection which is made to the Senate is this: that it may bring into the United States a royal or kingly Government. Sir, here is the Constitution of New Mexico, sent to me by one who attended the Convention of New Mexico, as I had to satisfy me that the honorable Senator from Maryland had been elected a member of this branch of the Legislature when I heard his credentials read.

Now, sir, I am prepared to answer the only argument of the honorable Senator from Maryland senator from Maryland

gins with these words:

"We, the people of New Mexico, in order to establish natice, promote the welfare, and secure the blessings of iberty to ourselves and our posterity"— This, so far, is the language of the Constitution of the United States. Then it proceeds to utter what the Senator from Maryland will con-

sider a dangerous heresy: "Acknowledging with grateful hearts the goodness of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, and imploring His aid and direction in its accomplishment, do ordain and estab-lish the following Constitution:"

We see that here are a people who acknowledge a higher power than the Constitution.

Mr. Pratt (interposing.) Does the Senator mean to say that I consider that a heresy?

Mr. Szward. I say that the Senator characterized what I said as heresy when I expressed precisely this oninion.

recisely this opinion.

Mr. Pratt. Will the Senator yield the floor moment?
Mr. Seward. Certainly; but I give the Senator notice that I shall make no answer.

Mr. Pratt. Mr. President, when one asserts,

am sorry to say, what he knows to be untrue-SEVERAL SENATORS. Order! order! Mr. PRATT. I beg pardon, Mr. President-Mr. SEWARD. I hope the Senator may be permitted to proceed Mr. PRATT. I was about to say, that when

Mr. Pratt. I was about to say, that when a Senator makes an application to myself which is not correct, with the assertion upon the part of that Senator that nothing which I can say will induce him to reply, I feel that proper respect to myself should induce me to say nothing.

Mr. Sward. These people of New Mexico then say they have "established a Government of the say they have "established a Government." for the purpose of establishing Justice, securing the blessings of Liberty for themselves and for posterity, and that they acknowledge the super-intending power of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, and invoke His blessing.

Universe, and invoke His blessing."

Now, let us see what kind of Government they make. They form themselves into a free and independent State, by the name of New Mexico. The next question is whether they have established a "kingly" Government. This may be learned from their declaration of rights:

"All men being born equally free and independent, and having certain natural, inherent, and inalienable rights, amongst which are the enjoying and defending of life and liberty, the acquirement, possession, and protection of pre-perty, and the pursuit of and attainment of happiness: therefore no male person shall be held by law to serve any persons as a servan; slave, or apprentice, after he arrives at the fore no male person shall be held by law to serve any person as a servant, slave, or apprentice after he arrives at the age of twenty-one years; nor female in like manner, after she arrives at the age of eighteen years; unless they be bound by their own consent, after they arrive at such age, or are bound by law for punishment of orime.

"All power is inherent in the people; all free Governments are founded in their authority; they have therefore an inalienable and indefeasible right to institute Government, to alter and reform, or to totally change the same, when their safety or happiness requires it."

Well, sir, so far this is sound republicanism t is the republicanism of the British Constitu-ions of 1640, of 1688, and the American Consti ution of 1776. Well, have they established a King, with an hereditary aristocracy to exercise the powers of government? No, sir; quite the contrary :

contrary:

"The powers of the Government of the State of New Mexico shall be divided into three distinct departments, and each of them confided to separate bodies of magistracy, to wit: Those which are legislative, to one; those which are judicial, to another; and those which are executive, to another.

"No person or collection of persons, being of one of those departments, shall exercise any power properly belonging to either of the others, except in those instances hereinafter expressly directed or permitted.

"The legislative powers of the State shall be vested in two distinct branches; one to be styled the Senate, the other the House of Representatives; and both together the

"The legislative powers of the Stave shall be vested in two distinct branches; one to be styled the Senate, the other the House of Representatives; and both together the Legislature of the State of New Mexico. The style of all laws shall be, Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of New Mexico.

"The members of the House of Representatives shall be chosen by the qualified electors, and their term of office shall be two years from the day of their general election; and the session of the Legislature shall be held annually, at such time as shall be prescribed by law.

"The Senators shall be chosen by the qualified electors for the term of four years, and shall be divided by lot into two classes as nearly equal as may be.

"The Governor and Lieutensant Governor shall be elected by the qualified electors of the State, at the time and places of choosing members of the Legislature.

"The judges of the Supreme Court shall be appointed by the Governor, with the consent of both Heuses of the Legislature in joint ballot; and shall hold their offices for the term of six years, and until their successors be duly nominated.

f six years, and until their successors be duly nomi-"A general diffusion of knowledge being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, it shall be the duty of the Legislature of this State to make suitable provisions for the support and maintenance of

public schools.

'The Legislature shall, at as early a day as practicable, establish free schools throughout the State, and shall furnish means for their support by taxation; and it shall be the duty of the Legislature to set apart not less than one-twelfth of the annual revenue of the State, derived from taxation, as a perpetual fund, which fund shall be appropriated to the support of free public schools, and no law all be made diverting said fund to any other use.

"Every male person of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, (Africans or the descendants of Africans, and uncivilised Indians. excepted,) belonging to either of the following classes, and who shall have resided in this State for six months next preceding any election, shall be a qualified elector at such election:

"First. Citizens of the United States residing in this State

ate "Second. Persons who elected to remain citizens of the "Second. Persons who elected to remain citizens of the Republic of Mexico according to article eighth of the treaty of peace, made and concluded between the United States of North America and the Republic of Mexico, at Guadalupe Hidalgo, and ratified by the Congress of the United Sta. es the thirtieth day of May, A. D. 1848, and who shall have taken, at least six months pre-eding any election, before some judge of the Supreme Court in this State, or before a cl-rk o any court of record in this State, an oath renouncing and abjuring all allegian" or fealty to the Government of the Republic of Mexico, and to support the Constitution of the United States and of this State.

"Third Persons of foreign birth, not referred to in the two preceding clauses, who shall have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, conformably to the laws of the United States on the subject of naturalisation.

nation.

"No soldier in the army of the United States shall be entitled to vote in this State." This, then, is the Constitution of New Mexico. It is a republican Constitution, and the argument of the Senator from Maryland against the admission of New Mexico is refuted.

Mr. DAYTON. It is no part of my duty to make any comment upon any course which any Senator may think in his best judgment to be advisable; but I cannot but feel that when we are acting jointly in reference to a measure, we have some-thing in common, and that there is something due to each other; and it seems to me that it would have been better if the Senator from New York had consulted the views of those who have concurred generally in their action upon this easure, and have avoided offering this proposition at this time. This amendment belongs alto-gether to a different line of policy, and the whole effect of offering it at this time is to put the vote before the country infinitely feebler than if the proposition were to stand alone. Why, sir, I can-not vote for this amendment, while at the same time I do not want to vote against the admission of New Mexico as a State, as an alternative. cannot vote for this amendment to the bill; and I put it to the Senator from New York, what is the effect of this amendment, supposing you pass it and incorporate it in this bill? Why, sir, you adopt your own amendment, and this main line of poli-cy; and the Senator himself and others will have to vote against the Omnibus bill. Now, in what position are we placed? I submit, with very great respect, that it would have been better and easier not to have mixed up this question with the Om-nibus bill. Let us stand alone upon our own or a different policy. I do not wish to vote for this bill. I do not wish to vote against the admission of New Mexico as a State, under proper circumstances, as a mere alternative.

But I am unwilling to vote for this amendmen

But I am unwilling to vote for this amendment for another reason. I do think this matter is premature. I am unwilling to transfer to the President of the United States, or to any other power on earth, that right which the Constitution has imposed on us to judge whether the Constitu-tion of a State offering hercelf here is republican or not. The Constitution of the United States makes it necessary that Congress should promakes it necessary that Congress should pro-nounce upon that question. How, in the name of God, can we transfer that constitutional duty to the Executive, and then satisfy our conscience, and our constitutional obligations to that Consti tion? I cannot do that yet.

Again: I am unwilling to place the onus of judging the question of boundary, and other provisions of this Constitution, upon the President. This amendment only says that if the President shall be satisfied that the people of New Mexico shall be satisfied that the people of New Mexico have approved of some Constitution, (what Con-stitution it does not say, and we do not know, be-cause the paper from which the Sena'or has read has no official character,) he shall admit them as a State by preclamation.

has no official character,) he shall admit them as a
State by proclamation.

Mr. President, I regret very much that the Senator should have felt it his duty to embarrass us in
this matter. I do not complain of it, because he has
exercised only his just and legitimate rights upon
this floor. The effect of this thing is to drive those to vote against New Mexico, with the admission of California, who, if the question were separated and stood alone, and she, with her re-publican Constitution, properly authenticated, came forward, would feel themselves bound to vote

came forward, would feel themselves bound to vote for it. I cannot vote for her in this bill, because, if the amendment were adopted, you would drive a large number of Senators to vote against it. It is for these reasons I would very much have preferred it, if it would have saited the Senator to have had this proposition withdrawn.

Mr. Skward. I regret very much that the Senator from New Jersey has been embarrassed by this proposition. He sees that I have not the power now to withdrawit, however much I might desire to do so. At the same time, I do not find that difficulty in the case which seems to lie in the Senator's way. He says he must examine the Constitution for himself, and not delegate it to the President of the United States, but to ascertain as a historical fact whether the Constitution has been ratified by the people of

against the admission of New Mexico, which is, that the Constitution of New Mexico may be one creating a kingly Government, if the honorable Senator does not disdain to examine a Constitution not officially laid before the Senate. It because it is the senate in a kingly grant of the proposition—that it was not myself who was responsible for the premature presentation of the proposition—that it was not myself who was responsible for the premature presentation of the proposition—that it was not myself who was responsible for the premature presentation of the proposition—that it was not myself who was responsible for the premature presentation of the proposition—that it was not myself who was responsible for the premature presentation of the proposition will then the proposition of the proposition will be a supplied to the proposition of th premature presentation of the proposition—that this bill, if it passes, is a bill which is to shut the doors against New Mexico when she shall come here with her Constitution in her hands, and with her delegates here, to maintain and support her rights. She is turned adrift without making her rights. She is turned adrift without making her appearance, and therefore it is that I am prepared, for one, upon the information I have, to go for her admission in order to secure her her rights. Other Senators may act as they in their discretion may think right and proper. They will have their own reasons, I have no doubt, to justify themselves to their constituents in regard to the vote they shall give.

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they shall give.

Mr. Hale. I concur with the honorable Sen-Mr. HALE. I concur with the honorable Senator from New Jersey in what he has said in regard to the amendment of the Senator from New York, as a reason for not voting for it. I cannot vote for the proposition for another reason, which he has not adverted to; and that is, because those of us who have contended against the pilling of incomment reasons in one hill should proceed the proposition of the proposition of the proposition of the proposition of the pilling of incomments reasons in one hill should proceed the proposition of the proposition of the proposition of the proposition of the pilling of the congruous measures in one bill, should preserve our consistency, if it is worth preserving, (I do not myself consider it of any very great value,) and go against increasing the load; for if California's back was bent by what was already piled upon it, this certainly would not lighten the burden. For that reason I would have preferred that this proposition should have been presented in a dif-

ferent shape.

But there was one remark of the Senator from Maryland that I wish to advert to. I do not know that I understand the precise offence which the Senator from New York has committed, for which the honorable Senator from Maryland has suggested his expulsion. If it be the announcement that there was a higher law than the Consti-tution, and which we are bound to obey at all times and at all hazards, I myself ought to be ex-pelled, because I believe it. I thought when the Senate went into the choice of a chaplain to perform the ceremony of offering prayer and sup-plication, that we did recognise that there was a higher Power over us, and I have not heard of ate years that it was a crime to recognise a power

migher than human power.

Mr. Pratt (in his seat.) No one denies that.

Mr. Hale. I do remember, recorded in ancient and sacred history, an occasion somewhat analogous to this. It is recorded that on a certain occasion the princes and governors and mighty men of the realm got together, and suggested to the thing of Babylon to publish a decree that whoever should put up any prayer or petition to any other than the king, for the space of three days, (it was limited to three days only, let it be remembered,) should be cast into a den of lions; and I have not heard that that decree was enforced but three days. The operation was such that it never was renewed in the kingdom of Babylon; and I have never heard of any country, civilized or savage, where it has been a crime to acknowledge, as individuals or as members of an organized Government, that there is a Power igher than your Constitution-that there is a King of kings, and a Lord of lords, before whose face the stubborn pride of the Republic must bend the knee.

Mr. FOOTE. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to ask him—

Mr. Hale. I will get through in a moment. Mr. Foote. It is only a short question.
Mr. Hale. Now, sir, I wish this thing to be put distinctly before us. I wish we might, as individuals, understand whether it is necessary to a scat on this floor for us to put the provisions of our Con-stitution above the behest of the King of kings. What an idle mockery it is to stand up and reverently kiss the Holy Book, and call upon Him to help us to maintain its precepts, when in our hearts we maintain that our Constitution is above even His supremeauthority! Sir, if this is crime, I am criminal. If the Senate is to be expurgated of everybody who believes that sentiment, let the work commence, and let it commence now. Let the preamble show the offence of which they are guilty; that is, that they believed, high and exalted as the sentiments they entertain of the wisdom and power of the Constitution which our fathers formed—that they irreverently believed that there was a Power higher even than that power, to which republicans as well as kings must bow in submission. If it be a crime, sir, I plead guilty to it. I will not put the Senator from Maryland nor anybody else to the trouble of proving it. I admit it, I believe it. Sir, I believe that you have no right even to bring the supremacy of your Republic into conflict with the commands of the Most High. I believe that senand the sentiment of our Government, we had not, in the plenitude of our power and in the unbri-bled state of our pride, come to that pitch of pre-

sumption that it was to be considered an offence against the Constitution to bow reverently to the power of the Most High. power of the Most High.

Mr. Pratt. It is a very easy matter, sir,
when an argument based upon one state of facts
is made, to answer it by making an argument upon another state of facts which was never dreamed of by the party who made the argument in the first case. Does the Senator from New Hampshire say in his place that he understood me to say I did not believe in a Supreme Power that I objected to the Senator from New York for looking to a Supreme Power as a higher law than any human law? Did the Senator so understand me? He knows he did not; and yet he has got up here, in the manner in which he usually ar gues, using a set of phrases which, however well they may suit certain occasions, and however they may exhibit the talents of the author of them, will not apply to every occasion, and have not just as much application to one state of facts as another. He assumes the facts to suit the phrases, and not his speech to suit the facts.

Now, sir, I never said; and I am sure there is not a Senator who hears me who does not believe

that I have a higher respect for that Supreme Power, whose name is so frequently desecrated here, than the Senator from New Hampshire.
Mr. Hale. Order! [The Reporter feels called upon to state that ne understood the Senator to say "whose name is so frequently desecrated by the Senator from New Hampshire," and so he took down the words at the instant they were uttered; but, upon further reflection, considering that the sentence would have been incomplete by inserting the preposition "by," and that by the Senator's letting his voice fall after the word "New Hampshire" he intended to finish the sentence, the Reporter is forced to the conclusion that his ear

was mistaken.] The PRESIDENT. The Senator must not make Mr. PRATT. I have not made any.

Mr. HALE. I call the Senator to order Mr. Hale. I call the Senator to order.
Mr. Pratt. I have yet to learn that telling
the truth is out of order.
The President. The Senator will take his
seat until the question of order is stated by the
Senator from New Hampshire.
Mr. Hale. I understood the gentleman to say
that I frequently desecrated the name of the Most
High.

High.
Mr. FOOTE (in his seat) He did not say so. Mr. FOOTE (in his seat.) He did not say so.
The PRESIDENT. The Senator from New
Hampshire will reduce his words to writing.
Mr. Hale, having reduced the words to writing, passed them to the Chair.
The PRESIDENT. The words, as written down
by the Senator from New Hampshire, are, that
"the name of the Most High is frequently dese-

Mr. Hale. I have not had time to put down the connection in which they occurred, but that is a part of the language I understood him to

Mr. PRATT. I said "so frequently desecrated in the Senate." Mr. Chase. May I be allowed to suggest that the words heard by the Senator from New Hampshire were, "so frequently desecrated here."

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will make its decision, and then it will be in order for gentlemen to appeal from it if they choose. The words

cision, and then it will be in order for gentiement to appeal from it if they choose. The words set down by the Senator from New Hampshire, applying a remark of this character to an individual Senator, would certainly be out of order; but the Chair did not so understand the Senator from Maryland, or he would have felt it his duty to call him to order, as the Chair rarely shrinks from what he believes to be a discharge of his date. duty.

Mr. Halk. I hope it will be understood by
the Senate that the words I have taken down
were not intentionally misunderstood. I put

them down as they struck my ear and the ears of them down as they struck my ear and the ears of several gentlemen in my vicinity.

Mr. Pratt (resuming) Now, Mr. President, the higher law of which I spoke was not the Divine law to which the Senator refers; and before they can apply that Divine law so as to suffer the Senator with whom this dispute originated to be exempted from the position in which he is placed, his advocates here must assume this: that the Constitution of the United States is violative of that law—that here is the Constitution of the United States, which violates the law of the Supreme Being, and that therefore a person may swear to a upport that, although he does violate it, with the mental reservation that he is to support it so far as he does not violate it. Now, the whole result of the position in which the advocates of the Senator over the way place themselves is the one which I have stated. I conceive that his position is not altered for the better from that which is taken by his advocates. Now, if the

[SEE SECOND PAGE.]